NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

[T]HE ORIENTAL STUDIES.

BY

[J]OHN MUIR, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D.,

LATE OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

[I]ON OF THE ORDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE; MEMBER OF
[R]YAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON, CORRESPONDING MEM-
[O]F THE ROYAL PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, AND OF
[A]MERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, CORRESPONDENT OF THE
[F]NCH ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES,
[H]NORARY MEMBER OF THE GERMAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
[A]ND FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE LEYDEN LITERARY
SOCIETY, &c., &c.

18823

Calcutta:

GHOSHA AND BROTHER, 61, SANKARITOLLAH.

1878.

00048823

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE object of this edition is to collect and present, in one portable volume, some of the papers, that Dr. Muir has written in the Journals devoted to Oriental Research on subjects relating to the history of civilization in ancient India. The papers contain a vast quantity of information which can be found nowhere else. They are full of thought and research, eminently suggestive and most valuable as a guide to antiquarians and students of ancient history. They will also prove most serviceable to the Christian Missionaries; and they will indeed enable the governing class to have an insight into the mental constitution, habits of thought, laws, institutions, customs, and religion of the ancient Hindus, with whose descendants they daily come in contact both in private and official life. We can therefore reasonably hope that this volume will find a wide circulation among all classes of readers in every part of India.

We have undertaken to publish this work solely for the benefit of Indian students, though others as well may profit by its study. But without Government patronage it would have been hardly possible in a country like India, where there is no reading public so to say, to carry the work through the press. We take this opportunity to acknowledge our deep obligations to the various Governments of India for the patronage which they have, in the most gracious manner, accorded to us in the accomplishment of our undertaking.

THE PUBLISHERS.

THE ORIENTAL STUDIES.

ART. I.—*Contributions to a Knowledge of the Vedic Theogony and Mythology.*

[Read 18th January, 1864.]

IN the fourth volume of my Sanskrit Texts I have collected the principal passages of the Vedic Hymns which refer to the origin of the universe, and to the characters of the gods Hiranyagarbha, Visvakarman, Vishnu, Rudra, and the goddess Ambikâ ; and have compared the representations there given of these deities with the later stories and speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Brâhmanas, and in the mythological poems of a more modern date. In the course of these researches, I have also introduced occasional notices of some of the other Vedic deities, such as Aditi, Indra, Varuna, etc.

In the present and some following papers, I propose to give a further account of the cosmogony, mythology, and religious ideas of the Rig Veda,* and to compare these occasionally with the corresponding conceptions of the early Greeks.

To a simple mind reflecting, in the early ages of the world, on the origin of all things, various solutions of the mystery might naturally present themselves. Sometimes the production of the existing universe would be ascribed to physical, and at other times to spiritual, powers. On the one hand, the various changes which are constantly in progress in all the departments

* This subject has been already treated by Professor Roth in his dissertation on "The Highest Gods of the Arian races," in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 67 ff. ; by the same writer, and by Professor Whitney in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 291 ff., and 331 ff. ; by Professor Roth in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, viii. 607 ff. ; by Professor Max Müller in the Oxford Essays for 1856, and in his History of Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 531 ff. ; by Professor Wilson in the Prefaces to the three vols. of his translation of the Rig Veda ; by M. Langlois in his notes to his French translation of the Rig Veda ; by Professor Weber, and by Drs. Kuhn and Bühler, etc. etc.

of nature might have suggested the notion of the world having gradually arisen out of nothing, or out of a pre-existing chaos. Such an idea of the spontaneous evolution of all things out of a primeval principle, or out of undeveloped matter, called Prakṛiti, became at a later period the foundation of the Sânkhya philosophy. Again, the mode in which, in the early morning, light emerges slowly out of darkness, and objects previously undistinguishable assume by degrees a distinct form and colour, might easily have led to the conception of night being the origin of all things. And, in fact, this idea of the universe having sprung out of darkness and chaos is the doctrine of one of the later hymns of the R. V. (x. 129). On the other hand, our daily experience leads to the conclusion that every thing which exists must have had a maker, and the great majority of men are impelled by a natural instinct to create other beings after their own image, but endowed with superior powers, to whose conscious agency, rather than to the working of a blind necessity, they are disposed to ascribe the production of the world. In this stage of thought, however, before the mind had risen to the conception of one supreme creator and governor of all things, the different departments of nature were apportioned between different gods, each of whom was imagined to preside over his own especial domain. But these domains were imperfectly defined; one was confused with another, and might thus be subject, in part, to the rule of more than one deity; or, according to the diverse relations or aspects in which they were regarded, these several provinces of the creation might be subdivided among distinct divinities, or varying forms of the same divinity. These remarks might be illustrated by numerous instances drawn from the Vedic mythology. In considering the literary productions of this same period, we further find that as yet the difference between mind and matter was but imperfectly conceived and that, although, in some cases, the distinction between any particular province of nature and the deity who was supposed to preside over it was clearly discerned, yet in other cases the two things were confounded, and the same visible object was at different times regarded in different lights, as being either a portion of the inanimate universe, or an animated being. Thus, in the Vedic hymns, the sun, the sky, and the earth, are looked upon sometimes as natural objects governed by particular gods and sometimes as themselves gods who generate and control other beings.

The varieties and discrepancies which are in this way incident to all nature-worship, are, in the case of the Vedic mythology, augmented by the number of the poets by whom it was created, and the length of time during which it continued in process of formation.

The Rig Veda consists of more than a thousand hymns, composed by successive generations of poets during a period of many centuries. In these songs the authors gave expression not only to the notions of the supernatural world which they had inherited from their ancestors, but also to their own new conceptions. In that early age the imaginations of men were peculiarly open to impressions from without; and in a country like India, where the phenomena of nature are often of the most striking description, such spectators could not fail to be overpowered by their influence. The creative faculties of the poets were thus stimulated to the highest pitch. They saw everywhere the presence and agency of divine powers. Day and night, heaven and earth, rain, sunshine, all the parts of space, and all the elements, were severally governed by their own deities, whose characters corresponded with those of the physical operations or appearances which they represented. In the hymns composed under the influence of any grand phenomena, the authors would naturally ascribe a peculiar or exclusive importance to the deities by whose action these appeared to have been produced. Other poets might attribute the same natural appearances to the agency of other deities, whose greatness they would in consequence extol; while others again would adopt in preference the service of some other god whose working they seemed to witness in some other domain. In this way, while the same traditional divinities were acknowledged by all, the power, dignity, and functions of each particular god might be differently estimated by different poets, or perhaps by the same poet, according to the external influences by which he was inspired on each occasion. And it might even happen that some deity who had formerly remained obscure, would, by the genius of a new poet devoted to his worship, be brought out into greater prominence. In such circumstances it need not surprise us if we find one particular power or deity in one place put above, and in another place subordinated to, some other god; sometimes regarded as the creator, and sometimes as the created. This is illustrated in the case of the first Vedic divinities to which I shall refer, viz., Heaven and Earth.

I. Dyaus and Prthivi.

In addition to numerous detached verses in which Heaven and Earth (Dyaus and Prthivî) are introduced among other divinities, are invited to attend religious rites, and supplicated for different blessings, there are several hymns (such as i. 159; i. 160; i. 185; iv. 56; vi. 70; and vii. 53,) which are specially devoted to their honor. As a specimen of the way in which they are addressed, I subjoin a translation (very imperfect, I fear,) of the 159th and part of the 160th hymn of the first book:—

i. 159 (1). "At the sacrifices I worship with offerings Heaven and Earth, the promoters of righteousness, the great, the wise, the energetic, who, having gods for their offspring, thus lavish, with the gods the choicest blessings, in consequence of our hymn.

(2). "With my invocations I celebrate the thought of the beneficent Father, and that mighty sovereign power of the Mother. The prolific Parents have made all creatures, and through their favours (have conferred) wide immortality on their offspring.

(3). "These skilful energetic sons (the gods?) destined the great Parents for the first adoration. Through the support both of the stationary and moving world, ye two preserve fixed the position of your unswerving son (the sun?).

(4). "These wise and skilful beings (the gods?) have created (?) the kindred twins sprung from the same womb, and occupying the same abode. The brilliant sages stretch in the sky and in the atmosphere an ever-renewed web.

(5). "That desirable wealth we to-day ask through the energy of the divine Savitr: confer on us, O Heaven and Earth, through your good will, wealth with goods, and hundreds of cows."

i. 160 (1). "The brilliant god, the sun, by a fixed ordinance, moves between these two,—the Heaven and Earth,—which are auspicious to all, regular sustainers of the sage (the sun?) of the firmament, well-born, the two hemispheres.

(2). "Widely expanded, vast, unwearied, the Father and the Mother preserve all creatures. The two worlds are defiant, and, as it were, embodied, when the Father invested them with forms.

* * * * * * *

(4). "He was the most skilful of the skilful gods who pro-

duced these two worlds which are auspicious to all, who, desiring to create an excellent work, meted out these regions and sustained them by undecaying supports.

(5). "Being lauded, may the mighty Heaven and Earth bestow on us great renown and power," etc.

In the hymns Heaven and Earth are characterized by a profusion of epithets, not only such as are suggested by their various physical characteristics, as vastness, breadth, profundity, productiveness (i. 160,2 ; i. 185,7 ; iv. 56,3 ; vi. 70,1,2); but also by such as are of a moral or spiritual nature, as innocuous or beneficent, promoters of righteousness, omniscient (i. 159, 1 f. ; i. 160, 1 ; iv. 56, 2 ; vi. 70, 6). The two together are styled parents, *pitarâ* (as in i. 159, 2 ; iii. 3, 11 ; vii, 53, 2 ; x. 65,8), or *mâtarâ* (as in ix. 85, 12 ; x. [illegible], 7 ; x. 35, 3 ;* x. 64, 14). In other passages the Heaven is separately styled father, and the Earth mother † (as in R. V. i. 89, 4 ; i. 90, 7 ; i. 159, 2 ;

* Here they are supplicated to preserve the worshipper sinless. In R. V. vi. 17, 7, they are called *mâtarâ yahvî rtasya*, "the great parents of sacrifice."

† The appellation of mother is naturally applied to the earth, as the source from which all vegetable products spring, as well as the home of all living creatures. This is remarked by Lucretius, "De Rerum Natura," in these lines, V. 793 ff. :—

"Nam neque de cælo cecidisse animalia possunt,
Nec terrestria de salsis exisse lacunis :
Linquitur ut *merito maternum nomen adepta*
Terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata," etc.

And again, V. 821 :—

"Quare *etiam atque etiam maternum nomen adepta*
Terra tenet merito, quoniam genus ipsa creavit
Humanum atque animal prope certo tempore fudit," etc.

And, in illustration of the idea that the Heaven is the father of all things, I may quote his words, ii. 991 :—

"Denique cælesti sumus omnes semine oriundi :
Omnibus ille idem pater est, unde alma liquentis
Umoris guttas *mater cum terra recepit*,
Feta parit nitidas fruges arbustaque læta
Et genus humanum," etc.

And ii. 998 :—

" *Qua propter merito maternum nomen adepta est.*
Cedit item retro de terra quod fuit ante,
In terras, et quod missumst ex ætheris oris
Id rursum cæli rellatum templa receptant.

See also V. 799 :—

" Quo minus est mirum, si tum sunt plura coorta
Et majora, novâ *tellure atque æthere* adulta," etc.

i. 160, 2 ; i. 185, 11 ; v. 42, 16 ; vi. 51, 5 ;* vi. 70, 6 ; vi. 72, 2). But they are regarded as the parents not only of men, but of the gods also, as appears from the various texts where they are designated by the epithet *devaputre*, "having gods for their children" (viz., in i. 106, 3 ; i. 159, 1 ; i. 185, 4 ;† iv. 56, 2 ; vi. 17, 7 ; vii. 53, 1 ; x. 11, 9). In like manner it is said (in vii. 97, 8) that "the divine Heaven and Earth, the parents of the god, have augmented Brhaspati by their power ;"‡ (in viii. 50, 2) that they "have fashioned the self-resplendent and prolific (Indra) for energy ;" and (in x. 2, 7) they are described as having, in conjunction with the waters, and with Tvashtr, begotten Agni. And in various passages they are said to have made and to sustain all creatures (as in i. 159, 2 ; i. 160. 2 ; i. 185, 1), and even to support " the mighty gods" (iii. 54, 8).§

On the other hand, heaven and earth are spoken of in other places as themselves created. Thus it is said (i. 160, 4 ; iv. 56, 3), that he who produced heaven and earth must have been the most skilful artizan of all the gods. ‖ Again, Indra is described as their creator (viii. 36, 4) ; as having formed (?) them (x.

My attention was drawn to these passages by finding them referred to in Professor Sellar's " Roman Poets of the Republic," pp. 236, 247, and 276. On the same subject a recent French writer remarks : "Cent mythologies sont fondées sur le mariage du ciel et de la terre."—"Essais de Critique Religieuse," par Albert Réville, p. 383. The Greek poets also, as Hesiod (Opp. 561), Æschylus (Prom. 90 ; Septem contra Thebas, 16), Euripides (Hippol.601) speak in like manner of the earth being the universal mother.

* The words of the original here are, *Dyaush pitah Prthivi Mâtar adhrug Agne bhrutar Vasavo mrlata nah*, "Father heaven, innoxious mother Earth, brother Agni, Vasus, be gracious to us."

† In verse 6 of this hymn they are called *janitri* "the parents."

‡ In iii. 53,7, and iv. 2, 15, the Angirasas are said to be *divasputrah*, sons of Dyaus.

§ In one place (vi. 50, 7), the waters are spoken of as mothers (*janitri*) of all things moveable and immoveable. Compare the passages from the Satapatha Brâhmana, in my former article in this Journal, vol. xv. pp. 38 f.

‖ This phrase is, perhaps, primarily meant as an eulogy of the heaven and earth, by expressing that he must have been a most glorious being who was the author of so glorious a production as heaven and earth (see Sâyana on R. V., i. 160, 4, who says, "that having in the previous verse magnified the heaven and earth by lauding their son the sun, the poet now magnifies them by exalting their maker.") But it also appears to intimate that, in the idea of the writer, the heaven and earth were, after all, produced by some greater being. In iv. 17, 4, it is similarly said that " the maker of Indra was a most skilful artist."

29, 6) ; as having generated from his own body the father and the mother (by which heaven and earth appear to be intended, x. 54, 3) ; as having bestowed them on his worshippers (iii. 34, 8) ; as sustaining and upholding them (iii. 32, 8 ; vi. 17, 7 ; x. 55, 1) ; as grasping them in his hand (iii. 30, 5) ; as stretching them out like a hide (viii. 6, 5). The same deity is elsewhere (vi. 30, 1) said to transcend heaven and earth, which are equal to only a half of the god ; * and they are further represented as submitting to his power (vi. 18, 15) ; as following him as a chariot wheel a horse (viii. 6, 38) ; as bowing down before him (i. 131, 1) ; † as trembling from fear of him (iv. 17, 2 ;‡ vi. 17, 9 ; viii. 86, 14) ; as being disturbed by his greatness (vii. 23, 3) ; as subject to his dominion (x. 89, 10). The creation of heaven and earth is also ascribed to other deities, as to Soma and Pûshan (ii. 40, 1) ; to Soma (ix. 90, 1 ; ix. 98, 9) ; § to Dhâtr (v. 190, 3) ; to Hiranyagarbha (x. 121, 9) ; they are declared to have received their shape from Tvashtr, though themselves parents (x. 110, 9) ; to have sprung respectively from the head and the feet of Purusha (x. 90, 14) ; and to be sustained or supported by Mitra (iii. 59, 1), by Savitr (iv. 53, 2 ; x. 149, 1), by Varuna (vi. 70, 1 ; vii. 86, 1 ; viii. 42, 1), by Indra and Soma (vi. 72, 2), by Soma (ix. 87, 2), by Agni (? x. 31, 8), and by Hiranyagarbha (x. 121, 5). In other passages we encounter various speculations about their origin. In i. 185, 1, the perplexed poet asks, "Which of these two was the first,‖ and which the last ? How

* In viii. 59, 5, it is said : "If, Indra, a hundred heavens and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer nor both worlds thy nature."

† Heaven (Dyaus) is here styled *asurah*,"the divine," as also in iii. 53, 7.

‡ It might at first sight appear as if, according to the fourth verse of this hymn (iv. 17, 4,), the Heaven, *Dyaus*, was the father of Indra (see Professor Wilson's translation, vol. iii. p. 151). But the meaning seems to be : "The Heaven esteemed that thy father was the parent of a heroic son : he was a most skilful artist who made Indra, who produced the celestial thunderer, unshaken, as the world (cannot be shaken) from its place." This is confirmed by verse 1, which says that the Heaven acknowledged Indra's power ; and by verse 2, which represents it as trembling at his birth.

§ The two worlds, *rodasi*, are here styled *devi*, "divine," and *manavi*, "descended from Manu,"

‖ Sp, Br., xiv 1, 2, 10, *Iyam prthivi bhutasya prathama-ja :* "This earth is the firstborn of created things."

have they been produced? Sages, who knows?" In vii, 34, 2, the waters are said to know the birthplace of heaven and earth. In x. 31, 7, the Rishi asks: "What was the forest, what was the tree, from which they fashioned the heaven and the earth, which abide undecaying and perpetual, (whilst) the days and former dawns have disappeared?" This question is repeated in x. 81, 4; * and in the same hymn (verses 2 and 3) the creation of heaven and earth is ascribed to the sole agency of the god Visvakarman.† In x. 72, which will be referred to further on, a different account is given of the origin of heaven and earth. In R. V. x. 129, 1, it is said that originally there was "nothing either non-existent, or existent, no atmosphere or sky beyond;" and in Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 2, 1 ff., it is declared, that "formerly nothing existed, neither heaven, nor atmosphere, nor earth" and their formation is described: "That, being non-existent, thought (*mano'kuruta*), 'Let me become,'" etc.

It is a conception of the Greek, as well as of the oldest Indian, mythology, that the gods were sprung from Heaven and Earth (Ouranos and Gaia). According to Hesiod (Theog. 116 ff.), Chaos first came into existence; then arose "the broad-bosomed Earth, the firm abode of all things." Heaven and Earth were not, however, according to Hesiod, coeval beings; for "the Earth produced the starry Heaven coextensive with herself, to envelope her on every part." From these two sprang Oceanos, Kronos, the Cyclopes, Rheia, and numerous other children (vv. 132 ff.). From Kronos and Rheia again were produced Zeus, Poseidon, Here, and other deities (vv. 453 ff. 1‡). The Indian god who is represented in the Veda as the consort of the Earth and the progenitor of the gods, does not, however, as we have seen, bear the same name as the corresponding divinity among the Greeks, but is called *Dyaus* or *Dyaush pitar*. But this latter name is in its origin identical with Zeus, or Zeus pater, and Jupiter, or Diespiter, the appellations given to the supreme god of the Greeks and Romans, whom Hesiod represents as the grandson of Ouranos. On the other hand, the name of Ouranos corresponds to that of the Indian deity Varuna, who, though he is not considered as the

* See also the Taitt. Br., vol, ii. p. 360, where the answer is given, "Brahma was the forest, Brahma was that tree."

† See Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv., pp. 4 ff.

‡ Comp. Homer Il. xv. 187 ff.

progenitor of the gods, yet coincides with Ouranos in representing the sky.

II. The Indian Gods Generally, as Represented in the Rig Veda.

While the gods are in some passages of the Rig Veda represented as the offspring of Heaven and Earth, they are in other places, as we have already seen, characterized as independent of those two divinities, and even as their creators. Before proceeding to offer some description of the powers, functions, characters, history, and mutual relations of these deities, I shall give some account of the general conceptions entertained by the Vedic poets and some later Indian writers, regarding their origin, duration, numbers, and classes.

The following classification of the Vedic gods is adduced by Yâska in his Nirukta, (vii. 5) as being that given by the ancient expositors who preceeded him: "There are three deities according to the expounders of the Veda (*Nairuktâh*), viz., Agni, whose place is on the earth; Vâyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere; and Sûrya (the sun), whose place is in the sky. * These deities receive severally many appellations, in consequence of their greatness, or of the diversity of their functions, as the names of *hotr*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, *udgâtr*, are applied to one and the same person, [according to the particular sacrificial office which he happens to be fulfilling."]† Pursuing the triple classification here indicated, Yâska proceeds in the latter part of his work to divide the different deities, or forms of the same deities, specified in the fifth chapter of the Naighantuka or Vocabulary, which is prefixed to his work, into the three orders of terrestrial (Nirukta vii. 14—ix. 43), intermediate or atmospheric (x. 1–xi. 50), and celestial (xii. 1–46). I shall not reproduce these lists, which could not in some places be thoroughly understood without explanation, as they include several deities whose precise character, and identification with other deities are disputed, and embrace a number of objects which are not gods at all, but are constructively regarded as such from their being addressed in the hymns. ‡

* Compare R. V. x. 158. 1.

† This passage is quoted more at length in "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iv. pp. 133 ff.

‡ The following is the manner in which Yâska classifies the hymns.

The gods are spoken of in various texts of the Rig Veda as being thirty-three in number. Thus it is said in R. V. i. 34, 11: "Come hither, Nâsatyas, Asvins, together with the thrice eleven gods, * to drink our nectar."

Again, in i. 45, 2: "Agni, the wise gods lend an ear to their worshipper. God with the ruddy steads, who lovest praise, bring hither those three and thirty."

i. 139, 11. "Ye gods, who are eleven in the sky, who are eleven on earth, and who in your glory † are eleven dwellers in the (atmospheric) waters, do ye welcome this our offering."

viii. 28, 1. "May the three over thirty gods who have visited our sacrificial grass, recognize us, and give us double."‡

viii. 30, 2. "Ye who are the three and thirty gods worshipped by Manu, when thus praised, ye become the destroyers of our foes."

I quote the classification as interesting, though unconnected with my present subject:—He divides (Nir. vii. 1) the hymns, or portions of hymns, devoted to the praise of the gods into three classes, viz., (1) those in which the gods are addressed in the third person as absent, as "Indra rules over heaven and earth," etc.; (2) those which address them in the second person as present, such as "O Indra, slay thou our enemies," etc.; and (3) those in which the author speaks in the first person, and about himself. Of these the first two classes are the most numerous. Again, some of the hymns are merely laudatory (as, "I declare the valorous deeds of Indra"); others contain prayers, not praises, as "may I see clearly with my eyes, be radiant in my face, and hear distinctly with my ears." Again, there are imprecations, as "may I die to-day, if I am a Yâturdhâna," etc. Again, a particular state of things is described, as "there was then neither death nor immortality." Again, a lamentation is uttered, as, "the bright god will fly away and never return." Or, praise and blame are expressed, as "he who eats alone, is alone in his guilt," (x. 117. 6), and "the house of the liberal man is like a pond where lotuses grow" (x. 107. 10); and in the same way in the hymn to Dice gambling is reprehended, and agriculture praised. "Thus the views with which the rishis beheld the hymns were very various."

* That is, as Sâyana explains, those included in the three classes, consisting each of eleven gods, specified in the verse (i. 139. 11), "Ye eleven gods who exist in the sky," etc.

† On this Sâyana remarks, "Although, according to the text, 'There are only three gods,' (Nirukta, vii. 5), the deities who represent the earth, etc., are but three, still through their greatness, *i. e.* their respective varied manifestations, they amount to thirty-three, according to the saying, 'other manifestations of Him exist in different places.'" Compare Śp. Br. xi. 6, 3, 4, ff.

‡ Roth says that *dvita* does not mean *double*, but *assuredly, especially*.

viii. 35, 3. "Asvins, associated with all the thrice eleven gods, with the Waters, the Maruts, the Bhṛgus, and united with the Dawn and the Sun, drink the Soma."

ix. 92, 4. "O pure Soma, all these gods, thrice eleven in number, are in thy secret," etc.*

This number of thirty-three gods is in the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa (iv. 5, 7, 2), explained as made up of 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, and 12 Adityas, together with Heaven and Earth; or according to another passage (xi. 6, 3, 5), together with Indra and Prajâpati, instead of Heaven and Earth.

This enumeration could not have been the one contemplated in the hymns, as we have seen that one of the texts above quoted (R. V. i. 139, 11) assigns eleven deities, who must have been all of the same class, to each of the three spheres sky, atmosphere and earth.† It is also clear that this number of thirty-three gods could not have embraced the whole of the Vedic deities, as in some of the preceding texts Agni, the Asvins, and the Maruts are separately specified, as if distinct from the thiry-three. Further, Indra could not have been, in the opinion of the author of the Brâhmaṇa, one of the twelve Adityas (as he was regarded at a later period), since he is separately specified as making up the number of thirty-three gods.

In the R. V. iii. 39, the gods are mentioned as being much more numerous: "Three hundred, three thousand, thirty and nine gods have worshipped Agni,"‡ etc.

In another passage (i. 27, 13) the gods are spoken of as divided into great and small, young and old: "Reverence to the great, reverence to the small: reverence to the young, reverence

* This number of thirty-three gods is referred to in a hymn to the sun in the Mahâbhârata iii. 171, as joining in the worship of that deity: *Trayas trimsach cha vai devah.* See also v. 14019, of the same 3rd book; book iv. v. 1769; and book xiii. v. 7102. See also the Śp. Br. xii. 8, 3, 29. The Taittirîya Saṃhitâ ii. 3, 5, 1, says that Prajâpati had thirty-three daughters, whom he gave in marriage to Soma. See also R. V. viii. 39, 9, Valakhilya 9, 2.

† On this division of the universe into three domains, see the remarks of Professor Roth in his dissertation on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Races." Jour. Germ. Or. Society, 1852, p. 68.

‡ The commentator remarks here that the number of the gods is declared in the Bṛhad Araṇyaka Upaniṣhad. See pp. 642 ff. of the text of this Upaniṣhad, printed in the Bibl. Ind.; and pp 205 ff. of the English translation in the same series. The same passage occurs in nearly the same words in the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 4 ff.

to the old. Let us worship the gods if we are able; may I not, O gods, neglect the praise of the greatest."

I am not aware, however, that this latter classification of the gods is alluded to in any other of the hymns.

In the Rig Veda the gods, though spoken of as immortal (as in i. 24, 1; i. 72, 2, 10; i. 189, 3; iii. 21, 1; iv. 42, 1; x. 13, 1; x. 69, 9), are not, as we have already seen, regarded in general as unbeginning or self-existent beings. I have referred above to the passages in which they are described as being the offspring of Heaven and Earth. Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Daksha, and Aṅsa are designated, in R. V. ii. 27, 1, and elsewhere, as Adityas, or sons of Aditi. The birth of Indra is mentioned in various texts, and his father and mother are alluded to, though not generally named* (iv. 17, 4, 12; iv. 18, 5; vi. 59, 2; viii. 66, 1; x. 134, 1 ff.).

In iv. 54, 2, it is said that Savitṛ bestowed immortality on the gods. I have quoted elsewhere a number of passages from the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, in which it is related how they became immortal; and how, though of the same parentage, and originally on a footing of equality, with the Asuras, they became superior to them.† (See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 47–53: and the Journal of this Society, vol. xx. pp. 41–5.)

According to the Taittirîya Brâhmaṇa they obtained their divine rank by austerity, *tapasa deva devatam agre ayan* (vol. iii. p. 276). Even in one of the later hymns of the Rig Veda, Indra is said to have conquered heaven by the same means (x. 167, 1.) This immortality is, however, only a relative one, as according to the Puranic conception the gods are only a portion of the existing system of the universe, and are therefore subject, as regards their corporeal part, to the same law of dissolution as other beings. (See Professor Wilson's Sânkhya

* In R. V. x. 110, 12, a goddess called Nishṭigrî is mentioned, apparently as the mother of Indra: *Nishṭigryaḥ putram a chyavaya ûtaye Indram*, "draw hither Indra the son of Nishṭigrî to aid us," etc. Sâyaṇa in this passage identifies her with Aditi, viz.: "She who swallows up her rival wife *Nishṭi*, *i. e.* Diti." Indra is in fact addressed as an Aditya along with Varuṇa in vii. 85, 4. He is not, however, as we have seen above, considered as such in the Śp. Br. xi. 6, 3, 5, where he is mentioned as distinct from the 12 Adityas.

† In Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa ii. 4, 2, 1, it is said that all creatures came to Prajâpati, and asked that they might live. To the gods he said, "Sacrifice is your food, immortality is your support, the sun is your light," etc.

Kârikâ, p. 15). Thus, in a verse quoted in the commentary on the Sânkhya Kârikâ (See Wilson's S. K. p. 14.) it is said: "Many thousands of Indras and of other gods have, through (the power of) time, passed away in every mundane age; for time is hard to overcome." And in the Sankhya Aphorisms, iii. 53, it is said that "the suffering arising from a decay and death is common to all;" which the commentator interprets to mean that such suffering is "the common lot of all beings, both those who go upwards and those who go downwards, from Brahmâ to things without motion." The souls which have animated the gods, however, like those which animate all other corporeal beings, being eternal and imperishable, must of course survive all such dissolutions, to be either born again in other forms, or become absorbed in the supreme Brahma. (See Wilson's Vishnu Pur., p. 632, note 7; and my Sanskrit Texts, iii. 66, where it is shewn, on the authority of the Brahma Sûtras or of Sankara their commentator, that the gods both desire and are capable of final emancipation).

I shall now proceed to give some account of the origin and characters of the other principal deities as represented in the Rig Veda.

III. Aditi.

I begin with Aditi, who is the principal and almost the only goddess (the only one I have noticed except Nishtigrî * and Ushas) specified by name in the R. V. as the mother of any of the gods.

Though not the subject of any separate hymn, she is an object of frequent celebration in the Rig Veda, where she is supplicated for various physical blessings (as in i. 43, 2), for protection, and for forgiveness. She is represented, as we have just seen, as the mother of Varuna and some of the other principal deities. In the Nighantu, or vocabulary prefixed to the Nirukta, the word Aditi is given as a synonym (1) of *prthivi*, the earth; (2) of *vach*, voice; (3) of *go*, cow; † and (4) in the dual, of *dyava-prthivyau*, heaven and earth (Nigh. i. 1, 11; 2, 11; 3, 30). In the Nirukta (iv. 22) she is defined as the mighty

* See the last foot note but one.

† Compare R. V. viii. 90, 15, *gâm anâgâm aditim;* and Vaj. Sanh. xiii. 43 and 49.

mother of the gods (*adîna deva-mata*).* In another part (xi. 22) of the same work (where, as I have said, the different gods are taken up in the order in which they are found in the list in the Nighaṇṭu, chap. 5) she is placed at the head of the female divinities of the intermediate region. In numerous texts of the R.V., Aditi is styled the "goddess," or the "divine" (as in iv. 55, 7 ; v. 51, 11 ; vi. 50, 1 ; vii. 38, 4 ; vii. 40, 2 ; viii. 25, 10 ; viii, 27, 5 ; viii. 56, 10) the "irresistible goddess" (*devî Aditir anarva*, ii. 40, 6 ; vii. 40, 4 ; x. 92, 14), "the luminous, † the supporter of creatures, the celestial" (*jyotishmatîm Aditim dharayat-kshitim* ‡ *svarvatîm*, i. 136, 3), the "widely expanded" (*uru-vyachah*, v. 46, 6), the "friend of all men" (*visva janyam*, vii. 10, 4). In v. 69, 3, the rishi exclaims: "In the morning I continually invoke the divine Aditi, at mid-day, at the rising (setting?) of the sun." In i. 185, 3, her gifts—pure, unassailable, celestial—are supplicated ; and in another place (i. 166, 12) the large blessings conferred by the Maruts are compared to the beneficent deeds of Aditi. In iv. 55, 3, she is styled Pastyâ, which Prof. Roth understands to mean a household goddess. In the Vâj. S. she is thus celebrated, 21,5(=A.V. vii. 6, 2): "Let us invoke to aid us the great mother of the devout, the mistress of the ceremonial, the strong in might, the undecaying, the widely-extended, the protecting, the skilfully guiding Aditi." The following are some of the texts in which she is described as the mother of Varuṇa and the other kindred gods :

viii. 25, 3. "The mother, the great, the holy Aditi, brought forth these twain (Mitra and Varuṇa), the mighty lords of all wealth, that they might exercise divine power."

viii. 47, 9. "May Aditi defend us, may Aditi, the mother of the opulent Mitra, of Aryaman, and of the sinless Varuṇa, grant us protection." See also x. 36, 3, and x. 132, 6.

* In R. V. i. 113, 19, Ushas (the dawn) is styled "the mother of the gods, and the manifestation of Aditi ;" or, as Sâyaṇa explains, the rival of Aditi, from her appearing to call all the gods into existence when they are worshipped in the morning, as Aditi really gave them birth. Compare i. 115, 1.

† See Roth in Jour. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 69 ; and compare R. V. vii. 82, 10 ; "We celebrate the beneficent light of Aditi," etc.

‡ The same epithet, *dharayat-kshiti*, is, in R. V. x. 132, 2, applied to Mitra and Varuṇa, the sons of Aditi.

In R. V. ii. 27, 7, she is styled *râja-putrâ*,* "the mother of kings;" in iii. 4, 11, *su-putra*, "the mother of excellent sons;" in viii. 56, 11, as *ugra-putra*, "the mother of powerful sons;" and in Atharva Veda, iii. 8, 2; xi. 1, 11, "the divine Aditi, mother of heroes" *(sara-putra)*. All these epithets have obviously reference to Varuṇa and the other Adityas as her offspring.

In the Sâma Veda, the brothers as well as the sons of Aditi appear to be mentioned, i. 299: "May Tvash*tr*, Parjanya, and Brahmaṇaspati [preserve] our divine utterance. May Aditi with (her) sons and brothers preserve our invincible and protective utterance."†

In another passage of the R. V. x. 63, 2, Aditi is thus mentioned, along with the waters, and the earth, as one of the sources from which the gods had been generated: "All your names, ye gods, are to be revered, adored, and worshipped; ye who were born from Aditi,‡ from the waters, ye who are born from the earth, listen here to my invocation." In this passage we appear to find the same triple classification of gods as celestial, intermediate, and terrestrial, which we have already met with in R. V. i. 139, 11,¶ and in the Nirukta. The gods mentioned in the verse before us as sprung from Aditi, might thus correspond to the celestial gods, among whom the Adityas are specified by Yâska as the first class, or to the Adityas alone.‖

The hymn before us proceeds in the next verse (x. 63, 3) "Gladden for our well-being those Adityas, magnified in hymns,

* In ii. 27, 1, the epithet *rajabhyah*, "kings," is applied to all the six Adityas there named.

† Benfey, however, understands the sons and brothers to be those of the worshipper.

‡ Roth, in his Lexicon, understands the word Aditi in this passage to mean "infinity," the boundlessness of heaven as opposed to the limitation of earth.

¶ The same threefold origin of the gods, together with the use of the word "waters," to denote the intermediate region, is found also in x. 49, 2, where it is said: "gods, both those who are the offspring of the sky, of the earth, and of the [atmospheric] waters, have assigned to me the name of Indra;" and in x. 65, 9, after mentioning Parjanya, Vâta, Indra, Vâyu, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, the poet says: "We invoke the divine Adityas, Aditi, those (gods) who are terrestrial, celestial, who (exist) in the atmospheric waters." The word "waters" is used in the sense of atmosphere, in ii. 38, 11; viii. 43, 2; and x. 45, 1. Compare also vii. 6, 7.

‖ Nirukta xii. 35: *Athato dyusthana devagaṇah | tesham Adityah prathamagamino bhavanti |*

..... energetic, to whom their mother the sky, Aditi, (or the infinite sky),* dwelling in the aerial mountains, supplies the sweet ambrosial fluid." This verse, in which Aditi is either identified with, or regarded as an epithet of, the sky, appears rather to confirm the view I have taken of the one which precedes. The tenor of R. V. x. 65, 9, quoted in a previous foot-note seems, however, opposed to this identification of Aditi with the sky, as she and her sons Adityas are there mentioned separately from the other gods who are the inhabitants of the three different spheres ; though the last named classification may be meant to sum up all the gods before enumerated, and so to comprehend the Adityas also.

But even if we suppose that in the preceding passages it is intended to identify Aditi with the sky, this identification is very far from being consistently maintained in the hymns. And it is equally difficult to take the word as a synonyme of the earth. For although, as we have seen, Aditi is given in the Nighantu as one of the names of the earth, and in the dual as equivalent to Heaven and Earth, and though in R. V. i. 72, 9, and Atharva Veda, xiii. 1, 38, she appears to be identified with the Earth, † we find her in many passages of the Rig Veda mentioned separately, and as if she were distinct from both the one and the other. Thus, in iii. 54, 19, 20, it is said : "May the Earth and the Heaven hear us ..... May Aditi with the Adityas hear us :" v. 46, 3 : "I invoke Aditi, Heaven (*svah*), Earth, Sky," etc. ; vi. 51, 5 : " Father Heaven, beneficent mother Earth ..... be gracious to us ; all ye Adityas, Aditi, united, grant us mighty protection ;" ix. 97, 58 : "May Mitra, Varuna, Aditi, Ocean, Earth, and Heaven increase this to us ;" x. 64, 4 : "Aditi, Heaven and Earth," etc. ; x. 36, 2 : "Heaven and Earth, the wise and pious, protect us," etc. ; ..... 3 : "May Aditi, the mother of Mitra and the opulent Varuna, preserve us from every calamity." See also x. 92, 11. The most distinct text of all, however, is x. 63, 10 : "(We invoke the excellent protectress the Earth, the faultless Heaven, the

* The word for "sky" here is *Dyaus*, which must therefore be in this passage regarded as feminine, though, as we have seen, it is generally masculine, and designated as *father*. In v. 59, 8, the words *dyaus* and *aditi* are similarly united : *mimatu dyaur aditih*, etc.

† R. V. i. 72, 9 : "The earth, the mother, Aditi stood in power with her mighty sons for the support of the bird." The word *aditi* may, however, be here an epithet. A.V. xiii. 1, 38 : *Yasah prthivya Aditya upasthe*, etc.

sheltering and guiding Aditi: let us ascend for our well-being the divine bark, well rowed, free from imperfection, which never leaks." * Vaj. S. xviii. 22: "May Earth, and Aditi, and Diti, and Heaven etc., etc., satisfy him with my sacrifice," etc.

In the Satapatha Brahmana, indeed, it is said (ii. 2, 1, 19): "Aditi is this earth; she is this supporter," etc.; and in another passage (v. 3, 1, 4): "Aditi is this Earth; she is the wife of the gods." (See also viii. 2, 1, 10; xi. 1, 3, 3). But this seems to be a later view.

I have already mentioned that Aditi is placed by Yaska at the head of the goddesses of the intermediate region. If, however, the same ancient writer has done rightly in placing the Adityas among the deities of the celestial sphere (Nir. xii. 35), Aditi their mother ought surely to have found her place in the same class, as it is scarcely conceivable that the composers of the hymn should have thought of thus separating the parent from her offspring. But Yaska is here merely following the order of the list of words (for it can hardly be called a classification) which he found in the fifth chapter of the Nighantu; and in following this list (to which he no doubt attached a certain authority) he has had to specify Varuna, who is twice named in it, not only among the celestial gods (xii. 21), among whom as an Aditya he was properly ranked, but also among the gods of the intermediate region† (x. 3).

In the following verse Aditi is named along with another goddess or personification, Diti, who, from the formation of her name, appears to be intended as an antithesis, or as a complement, to Aditi (v. 62, 8): "Ye, Mitra and Varuna, ascend your car, of golden form at the break of dawn, (your car) with iron supports at the setting ‡ of the sun, and thence ye behold Aditi and Diti."§ Sayana here understands Aditi of the earth as an

* This verse occurs also in the Vaj. S. xxi. 6; and Ath. V. vii. 6, 3.

† Roth, in his remarks on Nir. x. 4, offers the following explanation of this circumstace: "Varuna who, of all the gods, ought to have been assigned to the highest sphere, appears here in the middle rank, because, among his creative and regulative functions, the direction of the waters in the heavens is one.

‡ I here follow Roth, who in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71, and in his Lexicon, renders the word *udita suryasya* here by "setting of the sun." Sayana goes the length of explaining this phrase by *aparahna*, "afternoon," in his note on v. 76, 3, though not in the passage before us.

§ These two words, *aditi* and *diti*, occur also in a passage of the Vajasaneyi Sanhita (x. 16), which is partly the same as the present. The

indivisible whole, and Diti as representing the separate creatures on its surface. In his essay on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Races" (Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71), Professor Roth translates these two words by "the eternal" and "the perishable." In his Lexicon, however, the same author (*s.v.*) describes Diti "as a goddess associated with Aditi, without any distinct conception, and merely, as it appears, as a contrast to her," Aditi may, however, here represent the sky, and Diti the earth ; or, if we are right in understanding the verse before us to describe two distinct appearnces of Mitra and Varuṇa, one at the rising and the other at the setting of the sun, Aditi might possibly stand for the whole of nature as seen by day, and Diti for the creation as seen by night. At all events the two together appear to be put by the poet for the entire aggregate of visible nature.* Diti occurs again as a goddess, but without Aditi, in another place (vii. 15, 12) : "You, Agni, and the divine Savitṛ and Bhaga, (bestow) renown with descendants ; and Diti confers what is desirable." Sâyaṇa here explains Diti as meaning a particular goddess. Roth (*s.v.*) considers her to be a personification of liberality or opulence. Diti is also mentioned along with Aditi as a goddess, A. V. xv. 6, 7, and xv. 18, 4 ; Vâj. S. xviii. 22 ; and in A. V. vii. 7, 1, her sons are mentioned. These sons, the Daityas, are well known in later Indian mythology as the enemies of the gods.

In the following remarkable verse Aditi embraces and represents the whole of nature. She is the source and substance of all things celestial and intermediate, divine and human, present and future (i. 89, 10) : " Aditi is the sky ; Aditi is the intermediate firmament ; Aditi is the mother, and father, and son ; Aditi is all the gods, and the five tribes ; † Aditi is

concluding clause *(tatas chakshatam aditim ditincha)* is thus explained by the commentator : "Thence behold [o Varuṇa and Mitra] the man who is not poor *(aditi=adina)*, *i.e.* who observes the prescribed ordinances, and him who is poor *(diti=dina)*, who follows the practices of the atheists."

* The words *aditi* and *diti* occur together in another passage, iv. 2, 11 *(ditincha rasva aditim urushya)*, where Sayaṇa translates *diti* by "the liberal man," and *aditi* by the *illiberal*, while Roth renders them by "wealth" and "penury" respectively.

† In another place, vi. 51, 11, Aditi is invoked, along with Indra, the earth, the ground *(kshama)*, Pushan, Bhaga, and the five tribes *(pancha-janah)*, to bestow blessings. Are the "five tribes" to be understood here, and in R.V. x. 53, 4, 5, with some old commentators (see Nir. iii. 8) of the Gandharvas, Pitṛs, Devas, Asuras, and Rakshasas ; or with the Aitareya

whatever has been born; Aditi is whatever shall be born."*

Sayana states that here Aditi is either the earth, or the mother of the gods, and that she is lauded under the character of universal nature.† Yaska says (Nir. iv. 2, 3), that the variety of Aditi's manifestations *(vibhûti)* is here set forth. This text occurs at the end of a hymn addressed to all the gods, and does not appear to have any connexion with the verses which precede, from which it derives no elucidation.‡

The signification, "earth" or "nature," may be that in which the word Aditi is employed in R. V. i. 24, 1, 2: "of which god, now, of which of all the immortals, shall we invoke the amiable name? who shall give us back to the great Aditi, that I may behold my father and my mother? 2. Let us invoke the

Brahmana quoted by Sayana on i. 89, 10 of gods, men, Gandharvas, Apsarases, serpents, and Pitrs (the Gandharvas and Apsarases being taken as one class)? Perhaps we should rather understand the term as denoting the whole pantheon, or a particular portion of it. In R. V. x. 55, 3, *pancha devah.* the five gods, or classes of gods (?), are mentioned.

* Professor Roth, in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 68, f., has the following observations on Aditi and the Adityas. "There (in the highest heaven) dwell and reign those gods who bear in common the name of Adityas. We must, however, if we would discover their earliest character, abandon the conceptions which in a later age, and even in that of the heroic poems, were entertained regarding these deities. According to this conception they were twelve sun-gods, bearing evident reference to the twelve months. But for the most ancient period we must hold fast the primary signification of their name. They are the inviolable, imperishable, eternal beings. Aditi, eternity, or the eternal, is the element which sustains them and is sustained by them. This conception of Aditi, from its nature, has not been carried out into a distinct personification in the Vedas, though the beginnings of such are not wanting, whilst later ages assume without difficulty a goddess Aditi, with the Adityas for her sons, without seriously enquiring further whence this goddess herself comes."

† M. Ad. Regnier, E'tude sur l'idiome des Vedas, p. 28.

‡ There is a hymn (x. 100)—addressed to different gods, and where they are invoked in succession—in which the words *a sarvatatim aditim vrnimahe* form the conclusion of all the verses except the last. The precise meaning of these words was not very clear to me, especially they have no necessary connection with the preceding portions of the different stanzas in which they occur. But Professor Aufrecht suggests that the verb *vrnimahe* governs a double accusative, and that the words mean "We ask Aditi for *sarvatati*," (whatever that may mean). In an ingenious excursus on R. V. i. 94, 15 (Orient und Occident, ii. 519 ff.), Professor Benfey regards the word as coming originally from the same root as the Latin *salut*, of which he supposes the primitive form to have been *salvotat*, and to have the same signification. This sense certainly suits the context of the four passages on which principally he founds it, viz., i. 106, 2; iii. 54, 11: ix. 96, 4; x. 36, 14. He has not noticed the hymn before us.

amiable name of the divine Agni, the first of the immortals; he shall give us back to the great Aditi, that I may behold my father and my mother." These words are declared in the Aitareya Brâhmana to have been uttered by Sunahsepa when he was about to be immolated (see Professor Wilson's Essay in the Journal of this Society, xiii. 100; Professor Roth's paper in Weber's Indische Studien, i. 46; and Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 408 ff.). Whether this be correct or not, the words may be understood as spoken by some one in danger of death from sickness or otherwise, who prayed to be permitted again to behold the face of nature. This interpretation is confirmed by the epithet *mahi*, "great," applied in this verse to Aditi, which would not be so suitable if, with Roth (*s.v.*), we understood the word here in the sense of "freedom" or "security."* If we should understand the father and mother whom the suppliant is anxious to behold, as meaning heaven and earth (see above), it would become still more probable that Aditi is to be understood as meaning "nature."

Whatever may be thought of Benfey's interpretation of this word, as given in the last note, the goddess Aditi is undoubtedly in many other texts connected with the idea of deliverance from sin. Thus at the end of this same hymn (i. 24, 15) it is said: "Varuna, loose us from the upper-most, the middle, and the lowest bond. Then may we, O Aditya, by thy ordinance, be without sin against Aditi."

The same reference is also found in the following texts.

i. 162, 22: "May Aditi make us sinless."

ii. 27, 14: "Aditi, Mitra, and Varuna, be gracious, if we have committed any sin against you."

* Benfey in his translation of the hymn (Orient und Occident, i. 33), though he treats Aditi as a proper name, yet explains it as denoting "sinlessness." The abstract noun *aditiva* occurs along with *anagastva*, "sinlessness," in the following line (vii. 51, 1): *anagastve aditive turasa imam yajnam dadhatu sroshamanah*, "May the mighty gods, listening to us, preserve this ceremony in sinlessness, and prosperity." Though *aditiva* is joined with *anagastva*, it does not follow that it must have the same sense. In the Brhad Aranyaka Upanishad, p. 53., ff., the name of Aditi is explained from the root *ad*, to eat: "Whatever he created, he began to eat: for Aditi derives her name from this, that she eats every thing"—Aditi is an epithet of Agni in R. V. iv. 1, 20; vii. 9, 3; and x. 11, 2; of Aryaman in ix. 81, 5; and of Dyaus in x. 11, 1. In vii. 52, 1, the worshippers ask that they may be *aditayah*, which, Sayana renders by *akhandaniyah*, "invincible."

iv. 12, 4: "Whatever offence we have, through our folly, committed against thee among men, O youngest of the gods, make us free from sin against Aditi, take our sins altogether away, O Agni."

v. 82, 6: "May we be free from sin against Aditi through the impulsion of the divine Savitr.

vii. 87, 7: "May we, fulfilling the ordinances of Aditi, be sinless in Varuṇa, who is gracious even to him who has committed sin.

vii. 93, 7: "Whatever sin we have committed, be thou (Agni) compassionate: may Aryaman and Aditi remove it from us."

x. 12, 8: "May Mitra here, may Aditi, may the divine Savitr declare us sinless to Varuṇa."

x. 36, 3: "May Aditi preserve us from all sin [or calamity]," etc.

In these passages, where Aditi is supplicated for forgiveness of sin, we might suppose that she was regarded as the great power which wields the forces of the universe, and controls the destinies of men by moral laws. But this supposition is weakened by the fact that many others of the gods are in the same way petitioned for pardon, as Savitr (iv. 54, 3) and other deities, as the Sun, Dawn, Heaven and Earth (x. 35, 9,3), Agni (iii.54,19).

Though, as we have seen, Aditi is regarded as the mother of some of the principal Vedic deities, she is yet, in other texts, represented as playing a subordinate part.

Thus, in vii. 38, 4, she is mentioned as celebrating the praises of Savitri, along with her sons Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman: and in viii. 12, 14, she is declared to have produced a hymn to Indra.

In a hymn of the tenth book (the 72nd), supposed from its contents to be of a comparatively late date, the process of creation is described at greater length than in any earlier passage, and the share which Aditi took in it is not very intelligibly set forth:* "1. Let us, in chaunted hymns, with praise, declare the births of the gods,—any of us who in (this) latter age may behold them. 2. Brahmaṇaspati blew forth these births like a blacksmith. In the earliest age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent. 3. In the first age of the

* I have already given this translation in "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iv. pp. 10, 11, but repeat it here, with some variation, for the sake of completeness. See (ibid. p. 12) the explanation of verses 4, 5, given by Professor Roth; and the passage quoted from him above.

gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent: thereafter the regions sprang, thereafter, from Uttânapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttanapad, from the earth sprang the regions: Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha. 5. For Aditi was produced, she who is thy daughter, O Daksha. After her the gods were born, happy, partakers of immortality. 6. When, gods, ye moved, agitated, upon those waters, then a violent dust* issued from you, as from dancers. 7. When, gods, ye, like strenuous men,† replenished the worlds, then ye drew forth the sun which was hidden in the (ethereal?) ocean. 8. Of the eight sons‡ of Aditi who were born from her body, she approached the gods with seven, and cast out Mârttânda (the eighth). 9. With seven sons Aditi approached the former generation: she again produced Mârttânda for birth as well as for death."§

Yâska has the following remarks on verse 4 of this hymn in the Nirukta, xi. 23: "Daksha is, they say, an Aditya (or son of Aditi), and is praised among the Adityas. And Aditi is, on the other hand, the daughter of Daksha (according to this text), '*Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha.*' How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin; or, according to the nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other, and have derived their substance from each other."

The concurrence of both Daksha and Aditi in the production of some of the gods is alluded to in two other texts:

x. 5, 7: "Being a thing both non-existent and existent in the highest heaven, in the creation of Daksha and in the womb of Aditi,‖ Agni is our firstborn of the ceremony," etc.

x. 64, 5: "At the creation, the work of Daksha,¶ thou, O Aditi, ministerest to the kings Mitra and Varuna," etc.

Daksha, though, as we shall see, he is generally regarded as one of the Adityas, is also (if we are to follow the commentators) sometimes represented as their father, or at least as the father

* Compare R. V. iv. 42, 5.

† *Yatayah.* See R. V. viii. 6, 18; and Sâma V. ii. 304.

‡ Compare A. V. viii. 9. 21: *ashta-yonir Aditir ashta-putra.*

§ The last words seem to refer to the name Mârttânda, a word compounded of *martta*, derived apparently from *mrita*, "dead," and *anda*, "an egg," regarded as a place fo birth.

‖ *Dakshasya janmann Aditer upasthe.*

¶ *Dakshasya va Adite janmani vrate.*

of some of the gods. Thus it is said in vi. 50, 2, "O mighty Surya, visit in sinlessness the resplendent gods, the sons of Dahsha,* who have two births, are holy, true celestial, adorable, and have Agni on their tounges."

vii. 66, 2. "Which two wise gods, the mighty sons of Daksha (*i.e.* Mitra and Varuna) the deities have established to exercise divine rule."†

In the Taittiriya Sanhita, i. 2, 3, 1 (p. 309 in Bibl. Ind.), the same epithet is applied to the gods: "May those deities who are mind-born, mind-exerting, intelligent who have Daksha for their father,‡ protect and deliver us," etc.

Some doubt may be thrown on the correctness of taking Daksha in the preceding passages to represent a person, from the fact that in R. V. viii. 25, 5, Mitra and Varuna are not only called the "strong sons of Daksha" (*sana Dakshashya sukratu*) but also the "grandsons of mighty strength" (*napata savaso mahah*). But even if the word Daksha be taken figuratively in this passage, it may represent a person in the others; for there is no doubt that Daksha is sometimes a proper name, whilst this is never the case, so far as I know, with *savas*. There is another obscure passage (iii. 27, 9, 10 = S.V. ii. 827) in which Daksha may be a proper name.

In the Satapatha Brahmana, ii. 4, 4, 2, Daksha is identified with Prajapati, or the creator.§

The part which he plays in the later mythology may be seen by consulting Professor Wilson's Vishnu Purana, pp. 49, 54, ff., 115-122, and 348. According to the first account he is one of Brahma's mind-born sons (p. 49), and marries

* The word so rendered is *Daksha-pitarah*, "having Daksha for their father." Sâyana explains it as meaning "those who have Daksha for their forefather."

† Sâyana here departs from the interpretation he had given on vi. 50, 2, and explains *Daksha-pitara* as=*balasya palakau svaminau va*, "preservers, or lords, of strength.

‡ The commentator explains the word *Daksha-pitarah* as=*Dakshah prajapatir utpadko yesham te*, those of whom the Prajâpati Daksha is the generator. The meaning of *Daksha-pitarah* in R. V. viii. 52, 10 is not very clear. Sayana takes it to mean the preservers or lords of foot. It may, however, be taken as a vocative, and applied to the gods. The word also occurs in Vaj. S. xiv. 3, where the commentator understands it to signify *viryasya palayitri*, "preservor of strength."

§ See the paper in a former vol. of this Journal, xx. 40. In the sequel of the passage in the *S.* P. Br. ii. 4, 4, 6, a person named Daksha, the son of Parvata, is mentioned.

Prasuti (p. 54), who bears to him twenty-four daughters, among whom Aditi is not specified. In the second account, however, (p. 122) Aditi is mentioned as one of his sixty daughters who, along with Diti, Danu, and ten others, is said to have been given in marriage to Kasyapa, to whom she (Aditi) bore the twelve Adityas. According to the third account (p. 348), Aditi is said to be the daughter of Daksha, and the mother of Vivasvat, the Sun. In a passage in one of the recensions of the Ramayana (Schlegel, i. 31, Calc. ed. i. 29), in the Mahabharata, and in the Bhagavata Purana, viii. 16, 1 ff., Aditi is described as the wife of Kasyapa, and the mother of Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation. (See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 116 ff.)

An older authority, however, the Vajasaneyi Sanhita gives quite a different account of the relation of Aditi to Vishnu, as it (xxix. 60) represents her to be his wife (*Adityai Vishnupatnyai charuh.*

IV. The Adityas.

The sons of Aditi specified in R. V. ii. 27, 1, are these six ; Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuna, Daksha, and Ansa. In ix. 114,3, the Adityas are spoken of as seven in unmber, but their names are not mentioned. * In x. 72, 8, 9, already cited above, it is declared that Aditi had eight sons, of whom she only presented seven to the gods, casting out Marttanda, the eighth, though she is said to have afterwards brought him forward. Here, again, the names of the rest are omitted. Surya is, however, spoken of as an Aditya in R. V. i. 50, 12 ; i. 191, 9 ; viii. 90. 11, 12 ; † and as an Aditeya (this word equally means 'son of Aditi.'), identified with Agni, he is said (x. 88, 11),‡ to have been placed by the gods in the sky. In viii. 18, 3, Savitr is named along with Bhaga, Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman, four of the Adityas, after that class of deities had been celebrated

* See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 101 ff., where these and many other passages relating to the Adityas are quoted.

† The last-mentioned text is as follows :*Ban mahan asi Surya bal Aditya mahan asi* |..... *Bat Surya sravasa mahan asi* |"O great art thou, Surya ! O son of Aditi, thou art great..... O Surya, in renown thou art great," etc.

‡ *Yaded enam adadhur yajniyaso divi devah Suryam Aditeyam.* In x. 37, 1, however, the Sun is called the Son of the Heaven (*divas putraya*) ; and there as well as elsewhere he is called the eye of Mitra and Varuna.

generally in the preceding verse. Sûrya or Savitr therefore appears to have a certain claim to be considered the seventh Aditya (compare A. V. xiii. 2, 9, and 37, where the sun is called the son of Aditi). We have seen above that Indra also is in one passage (vii. 85, 4), addressed as an Aditya along with Varuna.

In the Taittirîya Veda (quoted by Sayana on R. V. ii. 27, 1) the Adityas are said to be eight in number: Mitra, Varuna, Dhâtr, Aryaman, Ansu, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat. Here five names correspond with those given in R. V. ii. 27, 1, while Dhatr is substituted for Daksha, who is omitted, and two names are added, Vivasvat (who may be identified with Sûrya) and Indra. In one place (iii. 1, 3, 3) the Satapatha Brâhmana speaks of the Adityas as eight; but in two other passages (vi. 1, 2, 8; xi. 6, 3, 8) as being twelve in number. In the first of these two latter texts they are said to have sprung from twelve drops generated by Prajâpati (in which case they could not have been sons of Aditi), and in the second they are identified with the twelve months. * In the later Indian literature they are always said to be twelve (see the passages quoted in "Sanskrit Texts," iv. 101–106).

In some of the hymns where the Adityas are celebrated, they are characterized by the epithets "bright," "golden," "pure," "sinless," "blameless," "holy," "strong," (*kshattriyah*, viii. 56, 1), "kings," "resistless," "vast," (*uravah*) "deep," (*gabhirah*) "sleepless," "unwinking,"† "many-eyed," (*bhuryakshah*), "far-observing," "fixed in their purpose." Distant things are near to them, they uphold and preserve the worlds, they see the good and evil in men's hearts, they punish sin (ii. 29, 5), and spread nooses for their enemies (ii. 27, 16).‡ They are

* In the *S.* P. Br. iii. 5, 1, 13, a dispute between the Adityas and Angirasas regarding a sacrifice is mentioned. In the same work, xii. 2, 2, 9, it is said that these two classes of beings (the Adityas and Angirasas) were both descendants of Prajapati, and that they strove together for the priority in ascending to heaven. In A.V. xii. 3, 43 f., and xix. 39, 5 also they are connected with one another.

† This is a chracteristic of the gods in general.

‡ In regard to these deities, Roth thus expresses himself in the Journ. of the Germ. Or. Society, vi. 69: "The eternal and inviolable element in which the Adityas dwell, and which forms their essence, is the celestial light. The Adityas, the gods of this light, do not therefore by any means coincide with any of the forms in which light is manifested in the universe. They are neither sun, nor moon, nor stars, nor dawn, but the eternal sustainers of this luminous life, which exists as it were behind all these phenomena."

supplicated for various boons, for protection, offspring, guidance, light, forgiveness, etc. (see especially R.V. ii. 27, 1-16).

The Adityas regarded as a class of gods are not, however, characterized so specifically in the hymns, as some of the individual deities who bear that general designation, uch as Varuṇa and Mitra; and I shall therefore proceed to givessome account of the two later, (with whose names that of Aryaman is sometimes associated), omitting any further reference to Bhaga and Aṅsa, who are rarely mentioned, and Daksha, of whom something has been already said. Sûrya and Savitṛ will be treated separately.

V. Mitra and Varuna.

These two deities are very frequently found in conjunction. Varuṇa is also often separately celebrated; Mitra but seldom. Their frequent association is easily explained if the commentators are right in understanding Mitra to represent the day, and Varuṇa the night. Thus, Sayaṇa says on R. V. i. 89, 3: "Mitra is the god who presides over the day, according to the Vedic text, 'the day is Mitra's;' " and again, "Varuṇa is derived from the root *vṛ*., to cover; he envelops the wicked in his snares; and is the god who rules over the night, according to the text, 'the night is Varuṇa's.'" * In the same way the commentator on the Taittirya Sanhita, i. 8, 16, 1 (Bibl. Ind. vol. ii. p. 164) affirms that the "word Mitra denotes the sun," and that the "word Varuṇa signifies one who envelops like darkness, according to the text (of the Taittiriya Brahmaṇa, i. 7. 10, 1, vol. i. p. 153) 'the day is Mitra's and the night is Varuṇa's.' " In R. V. viii. 41, 3, it is said of the latter, "The beautiful god has embraced the nights, by his wisdom he has established the days, and everything perfectly." In another place (on R. V.

* See also his note on i. 141, 9, where he gives the same explanation regarding Mitra and Varuṇa, and adds that Aryaman is the god who goes between the other two. According to his note on i. 90, 1, Aryaman is the god who makes the division of day and night. Compare also his note on ii. 38, 8, where he says that Varuṇa is represented as giving resting-places to creatures after sunset, because he carries on the affairs of the night (*ratrer nirvahakatvat*). In i. 35, 1, Mitra and Varuṇa are invoked along with Agni, Night and Savitṛ: "I invoke first Agni for our welfare; I invoke hither Mitra and Varuṇa to our aid; I invoke Night who gives rest to the world; I invoke the divine Savitṛ to our assistance." See also what is said of Mitra awakening men, in iii. 59, 1, which will be quoted below.

vii. 87, 1) Sayana says that it is the setting sun which is called Varuna.

The following are some of the principal characteristics of these gods, as represented in the Rig Veda. Varuna is sometimes, at least, visible to his worshippers. Thus, in i. 25, 18, the rishi says : "I beheld him who is visible to all ; I beheld his chariot upon the ground." In vii. 88, 2, also, the poet exclaims : "When I have obtained a vision of Varuna, I have regarded his lustre as resembling that of Agni." * Mighty and fixed in purpose, he sits in his abode exercising sovereignty (i. 25, 10). He is arrayed in golden mail,† and surrounded by his messengers or angels, *spasah* (v. 13). His house is said to have a thousand doors (vii. 88, 5). Again he is described as occupying, along with Mitra, a palace supported by a thousand columns ‡ (ii. 41, 5 ; v. 62, 6). The two deities ascend their chariot, which is drawn by horses and is golden-coloured at the break of day, and takes the hue of iron at the setting of the sun.§ Mounted on their car, and soaring in the highest empyrean, they behold all things in heaven and earth (v. 62, 4, 8 ; v. 63, 1). Varuna is said to be farsighted (i. 25, 5, 16 ; viii. 90, 2) ; and thousand eyed (vii. 34, 10). The sun is called his golden-winged messenger (x. 123, 6), or in other places, the eye of Mitra and Varuna (vii.61, 1 ; vii. 63, 1 ; x. 37, 1), just as the same luminary is said by Hesiod (Opp. et Dies, 265) to be the eye of Jupiter.‖ Along with Aryaman, another of the Adityas, these two gods are called sun-eyed (vii. 66, 10). They are also denominated *supani*, the beautiful or skilful-handed. Varuna is frequently spoken of as a king (i. 24, 7, 8 ; ii. 7, 4 ; iv. 1, 2 ; v. 40, 7 ; vii. 64, 1 ; x. 103, 9 ; x. 173, 5) ; as king of all (x. 132, 4) ; as king of all, both gods and men (ii. 27, 10) ; as king of the universe (v.85, 3), and of all that exists (vii. 87, 6); as an universal monarch, *samrat* (i. 25, 10 ; ii. 28, 6 ; v.85, 1 ;

* See Roth's article on "The highest gods of the Arian races." Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71.

† Golden mail is also assigned to Savitr (iv. 53, 2).

‡ Compare Ovid. Met. ii. 1 ff. Regia Solis erat sublimibus alta columnis, etc.

§ I follow Roth here in understanding *udita suryasya* not of the *rising* (as the phrase generally means), but of the *setting* of the sun. It is thus only that the iron colour of the chariot becomes intelligible.

‖ See Max Müller's Essay on Comp. Mythol. in the Oxford Essays for 1856, p 53.

vi. 68, 9 ; viii. 42, 1) ; as a self-dependent ruler, *svarat* (ii. 28, 1). The same epithets of king and universal monarch are also applied in other places to Mitra and Varuṇa conjointly (as in i. 71, 9 ; i. 136, 1, 4 ; i. 137, 1 ; ii. 28, 9 ; v. 62, 6 ; v. 63, 2, 3, 5, 7 ; v. 65, 2 ; v. 68, 2 ; vii. 64, 2 ; viii. 23, 30 ; viii. 25, 4, 7, 8 ; viii. 90, 2 ; x. 65, 5).*

Power, martial strength, or sovereign authority, *kshattra*, is also constantly predicated of one or both of these deities ; and they as well as the Adityas generally are denominated the strong, or martial, gods, *kshattriyâh* (as in i. 24, 6 ; i. 25, 5 ; i. 136, 1 ; v. 66, 3 ; v. 67, 1 ; v. 68, 1, 3 ; vi. 49, 1 ; vi. 51, 10 ; vi. 67, 5, 6 ; vii. 34, 11 ; vii. 64, 2 ; viii. 25, 8 ; viii. 56, 1 ; viii. 90, 5). They are also designated as *rudrâh*, the terrible (v. 70, 2, 3) ; as *asurah*, the divine (vii. 36, 2 ; viii. 25, 4) ; as the divine and lordly deities (*asurâ tâv aryâ*) among the gods (vii. 65, 2). The epithet *asura*, divine, is frequently applied to Varuṇa in particular (as in i. 24, 14 ; ii. 27, 10 ; v. 85, 5 ; viii. 42, 1), though it is also given to other deities of the Vedic pantheon.

Another word employed to express their divine power, or wisdom, *maya* ; and Varuṇa is sometimes called the *mâyin*, the possessor of this attribute (vi. 48, 14 ; vii. 28, 4 ; x. 99, 10 ; x. 147, 5). While in some places (iii. 61, 7 ; v. 63, 4) this quality (*maya*) is ascribed to the two deities themselves, in other verses of the last quoted hymn (v. 63, 3, 7) they are said to cause the heaven to rain, and to uphold their ordinances, through the power (*maya*) of the divine being (*asura*). It might appear as if the word *asura* denoted here some great Being distinct from, and superior to, Mitra and Varuṇa, through whose strength they acted ; but in another hymn (v. 85, 5, 6) the term *asura* is distinctly used as an epithet of Varuṇa himself.

The grandest cosmical functions are ascribed to Varuṇa. Possessed of illimitable resources, this divine being has meted out, created, and upholds, heaven and earth ; he dwells in all worlds as sovereign ruler ; indeed, the three worlds are embraced within him (iv. 42, 3, 4 ; vi. 70, 1 ; vii. 86, 1 ; vii. 87, 5, 6 ; viii. 41, 4, 5, 10 ; viii. 42, 1). The wind which resounds through the atmosphere is his breath (vii. 87, 2). He has

* The same deities with Aryaman are called kings in i. 41, 3 ; and kings of men (*rajanas charshaninam*) in x. 26, 6. In vii. 66, 11, it is said : "The kings Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, who established the year, the month, and the day, etc. enjoy unrivalled dominion (*kshattra*).

opened boundless paths for the sun,* which he placed in the heavens, and has hollowed out channels for the rivers, which flow by his command (i. 24, 8 ; ii. 28, 4 ; vii. 87, 5). By his wonderful contrivance the rivers pour their waters into the one ocean, but never fill it.† His ordinances are fixed and unassailable.‡ They rest on him, unshaken, as upon a mountain ; through their operation, the moon walks in brightness, and the stars which appear in the nightly sky mysteriously vanish in daylight (i. 24, 10 ; i. 25, 6, 10 ; i. 44, 14 ; i. 141, 9 ; ii. 1, 4 ; ii. 28, 8 ; iii. 54, 18 ; viii. 25, 2). Neither the birds flying in the air, nor the rivers in their sleepless flow, can attain a knowledge of his power or his wrath (i. 24, 6). His messengers behold both worlds (vii. 87, 3).§ He knows the flight of birds in the sky, the path of ships on the ocean, the course of the far-travelling wind, and beholds all the secret things that have been, or shall be done (i. 25, 7, 9, 11). No creature can even wink without him (ii. 28, 6). He witnesses men's truth and falsehood (vii. 49, 3). He instructs the rishi Vasishṭha in mysteries (vii. 87, 4). In the sixteenth hymn of the fourth book of the Atharva Veda, his power and his omniscience are thus celebrated :

"1. The great One who rules over these worlds beholds (all) as if he were close at hand. When any man thinks he is doing aught by stealth, the gods know it all ; 2. (and they perceive) every one who stands, or walks, or glides along secretly, or withdraws into his house, or into any lurking-place. Whatever two persons, sitting together, devise, Varuṇa the king knows it, (being present there as) a third.‖ 3. This earth, too, belongs to Varuṇa the king, and that vast sky whose ends are so far off.

* In vii. 60, 4, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman are said to open out paths for the sun.

† See Roth on "The highest gods of the Arian races," p. 71 ; and Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 78. Compare Ecclesiastes, i. 7 : "All the rivers run into the sea ; yet the sea is not full : unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again."

‡ See Roth in the Journ. Amer. Or. Society, iii. 341 ; and Muller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 534, note 2.

§ The alert and invincible messengers of Mitra and Varuṇa are also mentioned in vi. 67, 5. The same word *spas* is used in i. 33, 8, where Indra's messengers seem to be spoken of.

‖ In R.V. x. 11, 1, Agni is compared to Varuṇa in omniscience ; which seems to show that this is an attribute in which Varuṇa was regarded as pre-eminent. With verses 1 and 2, compare Psalm cxxxix. 1-4, and St. Matthew xviii. 20.

The two seas [the ocean and the atmosphere]* are Varuṇa's loins; he resides in this small pool of water. 4. He who should flee far beyond the sky, would not there escape from Varuṇa the king.† His messengers, descending from heaven, traverse this world; thousandeyed, they look across the whole earth. 5. King Varuṇa perceives all that exists within, as well as beyond, heaven and earth. The winkings of men's eyes are all numbered by him.‡ He moves (all) these (things) as a gamester throws his dice. 6. May thy destructive nooses, O Varuṇa, which are cast seven-fold, and three-fold, ensnare the man who speaks lies, and pass by him who speaks truth."§

Varuṇa is supposed to have unlimited control over the destinies of mankind. He is said to have a hundred, a thousand remedies; is continually supplicated to drive away evil (*nirṛti*) and sin (i. 24, 9); to forgive sin (ii. 28, 5, 7, 9; v. 85, 7, 8); he is entreated not to steal away, but to prolong, life (i. 24, 11; i. 25, 12); and to spare the suppliant who daily transgresses his laws (i. 25, 1, 2). In many places mention is made of the bonds, or nooses, with which he seizes and punishes transgressors (i. 24, 15; i. 25, 21; vi. 74, 4; x. 85, 24). Mitra and Varuṇa conjointly are spoken of in one passage (vii. 7, 65, 2) as armed with many nooses for falsehood (*bhûripasa anṛtasya*); and in another place (vii. 84, 2) Indra and Varuṇa are described as binding with bonds not formed of rope (*setṛbhir arajjubhih sinithah*); on the other hand Varuṇa is said to be gracious even to him who has committed sin (vii. 87, 7). He is the wise guardian of immortality (*amṛtasya gopa*); he and Yama living in self-dependent blessedness will be beheld in the next world by the departed (x. 14, 7).‖

* Compare Genesis, i. 7, and Psalm cxlviii. 4.

† With this verse compare verses 7-10 of the Psalm just referred to.

‡ Compare St. Matthew, x. 30.

§ The hymn is concluded by two verses, containing imprecation. After giving a German translation of the whole in his Dissertation on the Atharva Veda, page 19 f. (Tubingen, 1856) Professor Roth remarks as follows: "There is no hymn in the whole Vedic literature which rxpresses the divine omniscience in such forcible terms as this; and yet this beautiful description has been degraded into an introduction to an imprecation. But in this, as in many other passages of this Veda, it is natural to conjecture that existing fragments of older hymns have been used to deck out magical formulas. The first five, or even six verses of this hymn might be regardəd as a fragment of this sort."

‖ In the Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1855, pp. 237 ff., Professor Weber communicates from the Satapatha Brahmaṇa (xi. 6, 1, 1

That Varuṇa, far more than any other god, was regarded as possessing a high moral character, as well as a placable disposition, appears not only from the passages to which I have already referred, but also from the two hymns (vii. 86, and vii. 89) translated by Prof. Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 540 f. ; in which the worshipper, while palliating his sins, implores the god's forgiveness, and entreats that his life may be spared.* In another place (vii. 88, 4 ff) the same rishi alludes to his previous friendship with Varuṇa, and to the favours the god had formerly conferred upon him, and enquires why they had now ceased :—"Varuṇa placed Vasishṭha on his boat : by his power the wise and mighty deity made him a rishi to offer praise in an auspicious period of his days, that his days and dawns might be prolonged. 5. Where † are those friendships of us two? Let us seek the peace which (we enjoyed) of old. I have gone, O self-sustaining Varuṇa, to thy vast and spacious house with a thousand gates. 6. He who was thy friend, intimate, constant, and beloved has committed offences against thee. Let not us who are guilty reap the fruits of our sin. Do thou, a wise god, grant protection to him who praises thee."

The same or nearly the same functions and attributes as are ascribed to Varuṇa are also attributed to him and Mitra conjointly. They uphold and rule over the earth and sky, the shining and the terrestrial regions, and place the sun in the heavens (v. 62, 3 ; v. 69, 1, 4 ; v. 63, 7 ; x. 132, 2 ; vi. 67, 5 ; vii. 61, 4). They are the guardians of the world (v. 62, 9 ; vii. 51, 2 ; viii. 25, 1 ; x. 126, 4). By their ordinance the great sky shines (x. 65, 5). They discharge the rain (v. 62, 3 ; v. 63, 1-3).

ff.) a legend regarding Varuṇa and his son Bhṛgu. The latter had esteemed himself superior to his father in wisdom, and was desired by him to visit the four points of the compass, where he witnesses certain visions of retribution in the other world. Professor Weber accompanies this legend with some very interesting remarks. Among other things, he observes that the legend is shewn to be ancient from the high position which it assigns to Varuṇa, who appears to be conceived as the lord of the universe, seated in the midst of heaven, from which he surveys the places of punishment situated all round him. Varuṇa, he adds, is represented in the Śatapatha Brahmaṇa xiii. 3, 6, 5, as having the form of a fair, bald, toothless, (with projecting teeth?), and yellow-eyed old man.

* On the character of Varuṇa as a moral governor, see Roth, Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71 ff. ; a paper by the same author in the Journ. Amer. Or. Society, iii. 340 ff. ; and his reply to Weber in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vii. 607.

† Comparo Psalm lxxxix. 49.

Their godhead is beyond the ken of the skies, or of rivers (i. 159, 9). They (together with Aryaman) are awful deities, haters and dispellers of falsehood (i. 152, 1 ; ii. 27, 8 ; vii. 66, 13). They are guardians of sacred rites (v. 63, 1 ; vii. 64, 2). They carry out their fixed purposes, which are unobstructed even by the immortal gods (v. 63, 7 ; v. 69, 4). They make the foolish wise (vii. 60, 6, 7) ; they know heaven and earth (vii. 60, 7). They are described as righteous, and as promoters of religious rites (or truth or righteousness), *rtavrdha, rtavana, rtasprsa, rtasya gopau* (i. 2, 8 ; i. 23, 5 ; i. 136, 4 ; ii. 27, 4 ; v. 63, 1 ; v. 65, 2 ; v. 67, 4 ; vii. 66, 13 ; viii. 23, 30 ; viii. 25, 8), as the lords of truth and light (i. 23, 5). They avenge sin and falsehood (ii. 27, 4 ; vii. 60, 5) ; the man who neglects their worship is seized with consumption (i. 122, 9). They are besought along with Aditi to remove the trespasses of their worshippers (ii. 27, 14) ; and along with Aryaman to give deliverance (x. 126, passim).*

Mitra alone is celebrated in iii. 59. The following are some of the verses :—1. "Mitra, uttering his voice, calls men to activity.† Mitra sustains the earth and the sky. Mitra with unwinking eye beholds (all) creatures. Offer to Mitra the oblation with butter. 2. Mitra, son of Aditi, may the mortal who worships thee with sacred rites, have food. He who is protected by thee is neither slain nor conquered. Calamity does not reach him from near or from far..... 4. This Mitra, adorable, auspicious, a king, strong, and wise, has been born. May we abide in the favor and kindness of this object of our worship. This great Aditya, who rouses men to exertion (see v. 1), who is favourable to his worshipper, is to be approached with reverence ..... 7. Mitra who by his greatness transcends the sky, and the earth by his renown. 8. The five classes of men have done homage to Mitra the powerful helper, who sustains all the gods."

In his paper on "The highest gods of the Arian races" (Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. p. 70 f.), Prof. Roth has the following ingenious and interesting observations on

* Like other gods, and in particular Indra, they are represented as drinking the soma juice, i. 136, 4 ; i. 137, 1 ff. ; iv. 41, 3 ; iv. 42, 6 ; v. 64, 7 ; v. 71, 3 ; v. 72, 1-3 ; vi. 68, 10.

† With this verse Roth (Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 22, p. 140) compares R. V. v. 82, 9, where it is said, "Savitr, who causes all creatures to hear his sound, and impels them." Comp. v. 5 of the present hymn ; and vii. 36, 2, referred to by Roth in the passage about to be quoted from him.

Mitra and Varuṇa :—"Within the circle of the Adityas there subsists the closest connection between Mitra and Varuṇa, who are invoked more frequently together than Varuṇa is invoked singly. We find only one hymn in which Mitra is invoked by himself (iii. 59). The fact that this dual invocation is preserved in the Zend Avesta, in regard to Ahura and Mithra, though the position of both has become entirely altered, and Mithra is not even reckoned among the Amshaspands,—this fact proves how close the ancient connection of the two was, when it has been maintained even after the reason for it had ceased..... .....The essential character of the two gods, as distinguished from one another, is nowhere distinctly expressed in the hymns, and was in fact originally one which could not be defined with intellectual precision. But the stage of religious culture which lies before us in the Rig Veda, enables us to distinguish this difference as one already existing, viz., that Mitra is the celestial light in its manifestation by day, while Varuṇa, though the lord of all light and of all time, yet rules especially over the nightly heaven. A hymn of Vasishṭha (vii. 36, 2) says : 'One of you (Varuṇa) is the lord, and unassailable guide, and he who is called Mitra, (*i. e.* the friend) calls men to activity.' Here so much at least is declared (and the same thing is expressed in nearly the same words in other places), that the light of day, which awakens life, and brings joy and activity into the world, is the narrower sphere of Mitra's power ; though, however, Varuṇa is not thereby relegated to the night alone, for he continues to be the lord and the first.

"Though therefore such representations as are expressed in Indian exegesis, (as for instance, when Sayaṇa says on R. V. vii. 87, 1, that Varuṇa is the setting sun), are far too narrow and one-sided, they still contain some truth ; and we may guess by what process they are to be developed. If Varuṇa is, as his name shews, that one among the lucid Adityas whose seat and sphere of authority is the bright heaven, in whose bosom is embraced all that lives, and therefore also the remotest boundary, beyond which human thought seeks nothing further, then is he also one who can scarcely be attained either by the eye or by the imagination. By day the power of vision cannot discover this remotest limit, the bright heaven presents to it no resting place. But at night this veil of the world, in which Varuṇa is enthroned, appears to approach nearer, and becomes perceptible, for the eye finds a limit. Vâruṇa is closer to men.

Besides, the other divine forms which, in the clouds, the atmosphere, the rays of light, filled the space between the earth and yonder immeasurable outermost sphere, have disappeared : no other god now stands between Varuna and the mortal who gazes at him."

Whatever may be the success of the attempts made to identify any other of the Indian and Iranian gods with one another, there can at least be no doubt, from the correspondence of the two names, that the Vedic Mitra and the Mithra of the Zend Avesta were originally the same deity. Accordingly, the late Dr. F. Windischmann, in his Dissertation on the Persian Mithra,* regards it as established that this god was known to the old Arian race before the separation of its Iranian from its Indian branch, though the conception of his character was subsequently modified by Zoroastrian ideas. That Mithra was warshipped in Persia in and previous to the age of Herodotus, is proved, as Windischmann remarks, by the common use of such names as Mitradates and Mitrobates. Herodotus himself (i. 131) speaks of Mitra, not as a god, but as a goddess. But Xenophon (Cyrop. viii. 5, 53 ; Œc. iv. 24), and Plutarch (Artax. 4, and Alexand. 30) describes the Persians as swearing by the god Mitra. And Plutarch, in his treatise on Isis and Osiris, chap. xlvi., tells us that Zoroaster conceived of Mithra as standing intermediate between the deities Oromazes, the representative of light, and Areimanius, the representative of darkness and ignorance.† It is unnecessary to say anything further here of the Persian Mithra, the eventual introduction of whose worship into the West is matter of history.

Though Varuna is not generally regarded in the Rig Veda as the god of the ocean, he is yet, in the following passages, connected with the element of water, either in the atmosphere or on the earth, in such a way as may have led to the conception of him which is fully established in the later mythology.

i. 161, 14 : "Desiring you, ye sons of strength, the Maruts proceed through the sky, Agni along the earth, this Vata (wind) through the atmosphere, and Varuna along the waters, the ocean" (*adbhih samudraih*).

vii. 49, 2 : "May the waters which are celestial, and those which flow, those which are dug up, and those which are

* Mithra, ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte des Orients, in the Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Leipzig, 1857. See pp. 54 ff.

† Ibid, p. 56. This passage is also quoted, Sanskrit Texts, ii., 471.

self-produced, those which seek the ocean and are bright and purifying, preserve me! 3. May those (waters) in the midst of which king Varuṇa goes, beholding the truth and falsehood of men, which drop sweetness and are bright and purifying, preserve me!"

vii. 64, 2: "Mitra and Varuṇa, ye two kings, protectors of the ceremonial, lords of the sea (or of rivers *sindhu-pati*), come hither; send us food and rain from the sky," etc.

In viii. 41, 8, Varuṇa appears to be called a hidden ocean (*samudro apichyah*).

viii. 58, 12: "Thou art a glorious god, Varuṇa, into whose jaws the seven rivers flow, as into a surging abyss."*

Varuṇa is also connected with the sea or with the rivers in ix. 73, 3; ix. 90, 2; ix. 95, 4; and in Vaj. Sanh. x. 7, it is said that "Varuṇa, the child of the waters, made his abode within the most motherly waters as in his home." See also the third verse of the sixteenth hymn of the A. V. quoted above.

Prof. Roth gives (in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 73) the following statement of the process by which he conceives that Varuṇa came in later times to be regarded as the god of the sea.

"The hymns of the Veda give already indications of this development, since Varuṇa is in one place brought into the same connection with the waves of the sea, as Storm and Wind are with the atmosphere and the heaven, and as Agni is with the earth (i. 161, 14, translated above), and it is elsewhere said of him that he sinks into the sea (vii. 87, 6), while in another passage the rivers are described as streaming towards him (viii. 58, 12). When on the one hand the conception of Varuṇa as the all-embracing heaven had been established, and on the other hand the observation of the rivers flowing towards the ends of the earth and to the sea, had led to the conjecture that there existed an ocean enclosing the earth in its bosom—then the way was thoroughly prepared for connecting Varuṇa with the ocean. Another side of the affinity between the celestial and oceanic Varuṇa may be expressed in the words of Alexander von Humboldt, which perfectly coincide with the ancient Indian view: 'The two envelopments of the solid surface of our planet, viz., the aqueous and the atmospheric, offer many analogies to each other, in their mobility, in the phenomena of their temperature, and in the fact that their parts admit of being displaced:

* See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, pp. 70 f.

the depth both of the ocean and of the atmosphere is unknown to us'."

We have already seen that Varuṇa corresponds in name to the Ouranos of the Greeks. "Uranos," as Professor Müller observes,* "in the language of Hesiod, is used as a name for the sky; he is made or born that he should 'be a firm place for the blessed gods.' † It is said twice that Uranos covers everything (v. 127), and that when he brings the night, he is stretched out everywhere, embracing the earth. ‡ This sounds almost as if the Greek mythe had still preserved a recollection of the etymological power of Uranos. For Uranos is the Sanskrit Varuṇa, and is derived from a root, *var*, to cover," etc.

The parallel between the Greek Uranos and the Indian Varuṇa does not, as we have already seen, hold in all points. There is not in the Vedic mythology any special relation between Varuṇa and Pṛthivi, the earth, as husband and wife, as there is between Uranos and Gaia in the theogony of Hesiod; nor is Varuṇa represented in the Veda, as Uranos is by the Greek poet, as the progenitor of Dyaus (Zeus), except in the general way in which he is said to have formed and to preserve heaven and earth.

VI. Indra.§

Indra is, as Professor Roth remarks,‖ the favourite national deity of the Aryan Indians. More hymns are dedicated to his honour than to the praise of any other divinity. Although, however, his greatness is celebrated in the most magnificent language, he is not regarded as an uncreated being. As I have already noticed, he is spoken of in various passages as being born, and as having a father and a mother (ii. 30,2; iii. 48,2 f.; iv. 18, 1 ff., and 10, 11; x. 73, 1, 10).

Thus in iv. 17, 4 it is said of him: "Thy father¶ was the parent of a most heroic son; the maker of Indra, he also produced the celestial and unconquerable thunderer,—was a

* Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 41.

† Hesiod Theog. 126.

‡ Ibid, v. 176.

§ In my account of Varuṇa there is little of importance that had not been previously said by Professor Roth; but in this description of Indra there is a larger collection of particulars than I have noticed to have been brought together elsewhere.

‖ In his Lexicon, *s.v.* Indra.

¶ In ii. 26, 3, Brahmaṇaspati is said to be the father of the gods.

most skilful workman." And again, vii. 20, 5: "A vigorous (god) begot him, a vigorous (son) for the battle: a heroic female (*nari*) brought him forth, a heroic (son)," etc. Again, x. 120, 1: "That was the highest (being) in the world from which this fierce and impetuous (god) was born," etc. Again, vii. 98, 3: "When born, thou didst drink the soma-juice to (gain) strength: thy mother declared thy greatness."—x. 73, 1: "The Maruts here augmented Indra, when his opulent mother brought forth the hero."—x. 134, 1: "When thou, Indra, didst fill the two worlds like the dawn, a divine mother bore thee, a blessed mother bore thee, the great monarch of the great people" (? the gods). In x. 101, 12, as we have already seen, he is called the son of Nishṭigri. This word, as I have also noticed, is treated by the commentator as a synonyme of Aditi; but though Indra is always regarded as an Aditya in the later mythology, and even appears to be addressed in that character, along with Varuṇa, in vii. 85, 4, he is not commonly described as such in other parts of the Rig Veda.*

In another place (iii. 49, 1) he is said to have been produced by the gods as a destroyer of enemies.

In the Purusha Sukta (R. V. x. 90, 13) Indra is said to have sprung, along with Agni, from the mouth of Purusha. In one of the latest hymns (x. 167, 1) he is declared to have conquered heaven by austerity (*tapas*).

In vi. 59, 2, Indra and Agni are said to be twin brothers, having the same father, and whose mothers are, the one here, the other there. (The sense of this is not very evident.) In x. 55, 1 his brother's sons are mentioned.

In i. 82, 5, 6, Indra's wife is alluded to; and in a few passages (i. 22, 12; ii. 32, 8; v. 46, 8; x. 86, 11, 12) mention is made of a goddess Indrâṇî, who, from her name, must be the spouse of Indra.

Even as an infant Indra is said to have manifested his warlike tendencies. "As soon as he was born, the slayer of Vṛttra (Indra) grasped his arrow, and asked his mother, 'Who are they that are renowned as fierce warriors?'" (viii. 45, 4, 5; 66, 1, 2,). He says of himself (x. 28, 6): "My father begot me (a god) without an enemy."

† In iv. 26, 1, he is identified with Manu and Surya, and in viii. 82, 1, 4, and x. 89, 2, with Surya. In ii. 30, 1, he received the epithet of *Savitṛ*.

A variety of vague and general epithets are lavished upon Indra. He is distinguished as youthful, ancient, strong, agile (*nrtu*, i. 130, 7 ; ii. 22, 4 ; vi. 29, 3 ; viii. 24, 9, 12 ; viii. 57, 7 ; viii. 81, 3), martial, heroic, bright, undecaying, all-conquering, lord of unbounded wisdom, and irresistible power and prowess, wielder of the thunderbolt, etc. etc. (i. 4, 8 ; i. 16, 9 ; i. 30, 6, 15 ; i. 61, 1 ; i. 81, 2, 7 ; i. 84, 2 ; i. 100, 12 ; i. 102, 6 ; i. 112. 23 ; i. 165, 6 ; ii. 21, 1-3 ; iii. 30, 3 ; iii. 32, 7 ; iii. 45,2 ; iii. 46,1 ; vi.18,4 ; vii. 20,4 ; vii. 22,5 ; viii. 81,8 ; viii. 84, 7 ff. ; x. 103, 1 ff.). "He has vigour in his body, strengrh in his arms, a thunderbolt in his hand, and wisdom in his head"* (ii. 16, 2 ; viii. 85, 3). "He assumes the most beautiful forms, and is invested with the ruddy lustre of the sun" (x. 112, 3). The Vedic poets have also described to us a few of the features, as they conceived them, of his personal appearance. The epithet which is most frequently applied to him is *susipra*, or *siprin*, in the interpretation of which Sâyana wavers between "the god with handsome cheeks or nose," and "the god with the beautiful helmet or turban" (i. 9,3 ; i.29,2 ; i.8,4 ; i. 101,10 ;† iii. 30, 3 ; iii. 32, 10 ; viii. 17, 4 ; viii. 32, 4, 24 ; viii. 33, 7 ; viii. 55, 2, 4 ; viii. 81, 4 ; viii. 82, 12; x. 105, 5).‡ He is also called *hari-sipra*, the ruddy-cheeked (x.96, 4, 9, 12) ; *hari-kesa*, the ruddy-or golden-haired (x. 96, 5, 8) ; *hari-smasru*, the ruddy-or golden-bearded, or moustached (x. 96, 8,). His beard is violently agitated when he puts himself in motion (ii. 11, 17 ; x. 23, 1, 4).§ His whole appearance is ruddy or golden (*hari-varpas*, x. 96, 1 ff.). He is sometimes also described as *hiranyaya*, golden (i. 7, 2 ; viii. 55, 3), and as having golden arms (vii. 34, 4); and sometimes as of an iron hue (i. 56, 3 ; x. 96, 4, 8). His arms are long and farextended (viii. 32, 10 ; viii. 70, 1). But his forms are endless ; he can assume any shape at will (iii. 38, 4 ; iii. 48, 4 ; iii. 53, 8 ; vi. 47, 18). Carrying in his hand a golden whip (viii. 33, 11), he is borne on a shinin ggolden car, with a thousand supports (i. 30, 16 ; i. 56, 1 ; vi. 29, 2 ; viii. 1, 24, 25 ; viii. 58, 16), which moves more swiftly than thought (x. 112,2), and is drawn by two‖ tawny (ruddy or golden)

* On the use of *siras*, the head, as the seat of intelligence, compare iii. 51, 12.

† Compare i. 30, 11.

‡ A note on this word will be given when I come to treat of the Maruts.

§ A beard is also assigned to Pushan, who similarly shakes it (x. 26, 7).

‖ In ii. 18, 4-7 Indra is invited to come with two, four, six, eight, ten,

steeds, snorting, neighing, and irresistible (i. 30, 16 ; i. 81, 3) ; with flowing golden manes (i. 10, 3 ; i. 81, 6 ; viii. 17, 2 ; viii. 32, 29), hair like peacock's feathers (iii. 45. 1), and peacock's tails (viii. 1, 25), which rapidly traverse vast distances (ii. 16, 3). His car appears to have been formed by the Ṛbhus (i. 111, 1 ; v. 31, 4). The following are some of the other texts which refer to Indra's chariot and horses : i. 6, 2 ; i. 16, 2 ; i. 55, 7 ; i. 84, 6 ; i. 100, 16 ; i. 101, 10 ; ii. 11, 6 ; viii. 82, 24 ; x. 44, 2. He is also said to be borne by the horses of the Sun (x. 49, 7), or by those of Vâta, the wind (x. 22, 4-6). The same deity, Vâyu, the wind, is said to have Indra for his charioteer, or companion in his car (iv. 46, 2 ; iv. 48, 2 ; vii. 91, 6). The horses of Indra are declared to be yoked by the power of prayer (ii. 18, 3 ; iii. 35, 4 ; viii. 1, 24 ; viii. 17, 2), which is no doubt another mode of saying that it is in consequence of the importunity of his worshippers that he makes ready his chariot to come and receive their oblations, and fulfil their desires.

The thunderbolt of Indra is generally described as having been fashioned, or brought from heaven by Tvashṭr, the artificer of the gods (i. 32, 2 ; i. 66, 6 ; i. 85, 9 ; i. 121, 9 ; v. 31, 4 ; vi. 17, 10 ; x. 48, 3); but in other places it is declared to have been made and given to Indra by Kâvya Usanas. Its natural mode of production is alluded to in viii. 89, 9, where it is said : "The thunderbolt lies in the (aerial) ocean, enveloped in water." This thunderbolt is sometimes styled golden (i. 57, 2 ; i. 85, 9 ; viii. 57, 3 ; x. 23, 3), sometimes ruddy (*harita*, x. 96, 3); but more commonly it is said to be of iron (i. 52, 8 : i. 80 ; i. 80, 12 ; i. 81, 4 ; viii. 85, 3 ; x. 48, 3 ; x. 96, 3 ; x. 113, 5); sometimes it is described as four-angled (iv. 22, 2), sometimes as hundredangled (vi. 17, 10), sometimes as hundredjointed (*sataparvan*, i. 80, 6 ; viii. 6, 6 ; viii. 65, 2 ; viii. 78, 3), and sometimes as having a thousand points (i. 80, 12 ; i. 85, 9 ; v. 34, 2 ; vi. 17, 10). Indra

twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eigthty, ninety, or a hundred horses (compare viii. 1, 9) to drink the Soma-juice. In iv. 46, 3, a thousand horses are said to convey Indra and Vayu. In viii. 1, 24, Indra's horses are said to be a thousand and a hundred. From such a text as iii. 35, 7, where Indra is informed that food has been provided for his horses, as well as soma-juice to fill his own belly (*v.* 6), it would appear that the worshipper had a perfect assurance of the god's presence. In another place, however (x. 114, 9), the enquiry is made (among several others denoting difficulty and mystery), "Who has perceived the two horses of Indra?"

is in one place (i. 55, 1) represented as sharpening his own thunderbolt. In other passages this god is spoken of as armed with a bow and arrows (viii. 3, 9 ; viii. 45, 4 ; viii. 66, 6 ; x. 103, 2, 3). His arrows are described as golden (viii. 66. 11), as having a hundred points, and as being winged with a thousand feathers (viii. 66, 7). Indra is also declared to carry a hook (*ankusa*). Thus in viii. 17, 10 it is said : "May the hook be long wherewith thou reachest wealth to the worshipper who offers oblation." And similarly in Atharva Veda vi. 82, 3 : "With that great golden hook of thine which confers wealth, O lord of Sachi (Indra), reach a wife to me who am longing for one."* Another text in which this word occurs is R. V. x. 134, 6 (=Sâma Veda ii. 441): "Thou, O wise (Indra), carriest a long hook like a spear, and hast held fast therewith, as a goat (catches) a branch with its fore foot." The word is also found in x. 44, 9 : "I carry to thee this well-made goad wherewith, O Maghavan, thou mayest rend the Sapharuj demons."†

Invoked by his mortal worshippers, Indra obeys the summons, and speedily arrives in his chariot to receive their offerings. He finds food provided for his horses (iii. 35, 7), and large libations of soma-juice are poured out for himself to quaff. The following are a few of the numerous passages which refer to this worship of Indra : i. 4, 8 ; i. 32, 3 ; i. 80, 1 ff. ; i. 84, 1, 4 ; ii. 15, 1, 2 ; ii. 19, 1 ff. ; ii. 21, 1 ff. ; iii. 36, 3 ; iii. 40, 1 ff. ; iv. 16, 1 ff. ; vi. 23, 1, 5, 6 ; vi. 27, 1 ff. ; vi. 29, 4 ; vii. 22, 1 ff. ; vii. 29, 1 ff. ; viii. 3, 1 ; x. 104, 1 ff. ; etc. etc. The gods are all described as hastening eagerly to partake of this beverage (viii. 2, 18) ; but Indra is particularly addicted to the indulgence (i. 104, 9 ; i. 175, 5 ; ii. 14, 1 ; vii. 33, 2 ; viii. 2, 4). Indeed, it would appear to be to him an absolute necessary of life, as his mother gave it to him to drink on the very day of his birth (iii. 32, 9, 10 ; iii. 48, 2, 3 ; vii. 98, 3). He is said to have drunk at one draught thirty lakes (or cups ?) of soma (viii. 66, 4 ; compare vi. 17, 11 and viii. 7, 10). His wor-

* In these passages I follow Roth's explanations of *ankusa*, as given in his Lexicon, *s.v.* In his translation of this passage from the A. V. in Indische Studien v. 241, Professor Weber understands the word (*ankusa*) of a goad with which cattle are driven.

† I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for pointing out the sense of this verse. *Sapharuj* seems to mean a demon or an animal that destroys with its hoofs. The word occurs also in x. 87, 12, where it is an epithet of Yatudhana, a demon, and must refer to some goblin which was conceived to tear with its hoofs.

shippers invite him in the most native manner to drink freely (vi. 47, 6) and fill his belly by copious potations, and he speaks in similar language of having accepted the invitation (i. 8, 7 ; i. 104, 9 ; ii. 11, 11 ; ii. 14, 10 ; ii. 16, 2 ; iii. 36, 6-8 ; iii. 40, 5 ; iii. 47, 1 ; iii. 51, 12 ; viii. 1, 23 ; viii. 2, 1 ; viii. 17, 5-8 ; viii. 67, 7 ; viii. 81, 22-24 ; x. 28, 2 ; x. 104, 2). *

The hymns and prayers addressed to Indra are described as stimulating his energies and increasing his vigour (i. 52, 7 ; i. 54, 8 ; i. 81 1 ; ii. 12, 14 ; iii. 32, 12, 13 ; iii. 34, 1 ; vi. 36, 2 ; viii. 6, 35 ; viii. 14, 5, 11); and the worshippers (as well as the gods) are said to place the thunderbolt in his hands and to assist its efficacy (i. 63, 2 ; ii. 11, 4 ; ii. 20, 8 ; iii. 32, 12). The other deities, too, are described as infusing divine strength into Indra † (i. 80, 15 ; vi. 20, 2 ; x. 48, 3 ; compare x. 120, 3, and x. 56, 4), and as placing him in the van (i. 55, 3 ; i. 131, 1 ; vi. 17, 18 ; viii. 12, 22, 25). He is impelled and fortified by the Maruts (iii. 32, 4 ; iii. 35, 9 ; iii. 47, 3, 4 ; vi. 17, 11 ; viii. 7, 24 ; x. 73, 1, 2 ; x. 113, 3).‡

Thus exhilarated and encouraged (ii. 11, 11 ; ii. 15, 1 ff. ; ii. 19, 2 ; vi. 47, 1, 2 ; x. 112, 1), Indra hurries off, escorted by

* The soma-juice was also drunk by the worshippers themselves, and its effects on some of them are occasionally described. Thus in vi. 47, 3, it is said : "This (soma), when drunk, impels my voice; it stimulates the ardent thought." And in viii. 48, 3, its elevating effect is still more distinctly told, in words which may be rendered as follows :

We've quaffed the soma bright,
And are immortal grown ;
We've entered into light,
And all the gods have known.
What mortal now can harm,
Or foeman vex us more ?
Through thee beyond alarm,
Immortal god, we soar.

Compare the curious parallel to this (already noticed in Sanssrit Texts, iii. 162) in the satirical drama of Euripides, the Cyclops, 578 ff.

† Indra on his side again is said to give divine power to the other gods (vi. 36, 1).

‡ In one place, however, (viii. 7, 31) the Maruts are asked what they were seeking when they deserted Indra, and who could then trust in their friendship. In another text (viii. 85, 7), on the contrary, it is said that all the other gods who had been Indra's allies, terrified by the blast of Vṛttra's breath, deserted Indra and fled (compare iv. 18, 11), while the Maruts, it must be supposed, stood firm, as Indra is advised to make friends with them, and then he should conquer all hostile armies. The commentator, however (like many other dogmatical theologians*, finding it necessary to reconcile these conflicting statements, interprets viii. 7, 31 differently, and

troops of Maruts, and sometimes attended by his faithful comrade Vishnu (i. 22, 19 ; i. 85, 7 ;* iv. 18, 11 ; vii. 99, 4, 5 ; viii. 89, 12†), to encounter the hostile powers in the atmosphere who

makes it mean, "When did you desert Indra ? *i.e.* never," and quotes the Aitareya Brahmana iii. 20, which says the Maruts did not desert Indra ; but said, "Smite, O lord, slay, play the hero."

In R. V. i. 32, 14, Indra himself is said to have become frightened after he had slain Vrttra, and to have crossed ninety-nine rivers in his flight. Compare Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 547.

The Asvins and Sarasvati are also said to have assisted Indra (R. V. x. 131, 4, 5=Vaj. Sanh. x. 33, 34). "You two, Asvins, lords of splendour, drinking together the delightful draught (of soma), protected Indra in his achievements, against the Asura Namuchi. 5. As parents a son, so ye two, Asvins, by your wisdom and your energy, delivered thee, O Indra. When thou, O magnificent (Indra), didst drink the delightful draught (of soma), Sarasvati waited upon thee with her powers." A story is told by the commentator on the Vaj. Sanh. x. 33, to explain these lines. Namuchi, it seems, was a friend of Indra ; and taking advantage of his friend's confidence, he drank up Indra's stength along with a draught of wine and sôma. Indra then told the Asvins and Sarasvati that Namuchi had drunk up his strength. The Asvins and Sarasvati in consequence gave Indra a thunderblot in the form of foam, with which he smote off the head of Namuchi. The Asvins then drank the soma, mixed with blood and wine, from the belly of Namuchi, and transferred it pure to Indra ; and by transferring it they delivered Indra. The story is taken from the Satapatha Brahmana xii. 7, 3, 1 ff. (p. 934 Weber's ed.) and is the original version of those adduced by me elsewhere (Sansk. Texts iv. 222 and 420). As given in the Brahmana, it runs thus : "The Asura Namuchi carried off Indra's strength *(indriya)*, the essence of food, and the draught of soma, together with wine. He (Indra) hastened to the Asvins and Sarasvati, and said : 'I have sworn to Namuchi, I will neither slay thee by day, nor by night, neither with club, nor with bow, neither with the palm of my hand *(parthena)*, nor with fist, neither with dry nor with moist ; and he has carried off that of mine ; will ye recover it for me ?' They answered : 'Let us have a share in it, and we will recover it.' Indra replied : It shall be common to us all ; recover it therefore.' Then the Asvins and Sarasvati anointed the thunderbolt with the foam of the waters, saying, 'It is neither dry nor moist.' With that Indra struck off the head of Namuchi, when night was passing into dawn, and the sun had not yet risen, when (as he said) 'it was neither day nor night.'.... When his head had been cut off, the soma remained mixed with blood ; and they loathed it. But having perceived this draught of the two somas, according to the text, 'King soma when poured out, is nectar,' they with this made the other mixed fluid palatable, and swallowed it."

In one place (x. 138, 6) Indra is said to perform his exploits alone. Compare i. 84, 7.

* Benfey, however, refers this passage, i. 85, 7, not to Indra, but to the soma.

† Compare i. 156, 5 ; vi. 17, 11 ; viii. 12, 27 ; viii. 66, 10 ; x. 113, 2 ; in which passages (as well as in seperate hymns, i. 155 ; vi. 69), Indra and

malevolently shut up the watery treasures in the clouds. These demons of drought, called by a variety of names, as *Vr*ttra, Ahi, *Sus*hna, Namuchi, Pipru, Arbuda, Ura*n*a, etc. etc. (i. 121, 9, 10; ii. 14, 4 ff.; viii. 32, 2, 3), armed, on their side also, with every variety of celestial artillery (i. 32, 13), attempt, but in vain, to resist the onset of the gods.‡ Heaven and earth quake with affright at the crash of Indra's thunder (i. 80, 11, 14; i. 100, 13; ii. 11, 9, 10; vi. 17, 9), and even Tvash*tr* himself who forged the bolts, trembles at the manifestation of his anger (i. 80, 14). The enemies of Indra are speedily pierced and shattered by the discharge of his iron shafts, and even by their very sound (vi. 27, 4; viii. 6, 13). The waters, released from their imprisonment, descend in torrents to the earth, fill all the rivers, and roll along to the ocean (i. 34, 4, 12; i. 55, 6; i. 57, 6; i. 61, 10; i. 103, 2; ii. 11, 2; ii. 12, 12; ii. 14, 2; ii. 15, 3; ii. 19, 3; iii. 32, 6; iv. 17, 1; v. 32, 1; vi. 30, 4; viii. 65, 3; x. 133, 2). The gloom which had overspread the sky is dispersed, and the sun is restored to his position in the heavens (i. 32, 4; i. 51, 4; i. 52, 8; ii. 19, 3; x. 89, 2). Constant allusions to these elemental conflicts occur in nearly every part of the Rig Veda (i. 4, 8; i. 32, 1 ff.; i. 52, 1 ff.; i. 54, 4 ff.; i. 80, 1 ff.; i. 103, 1 ff.; ii. 11, 5 ff.; v. 32, 1 ff.; x. 87, 9; x. 113, 6), and the descriptions are sometimes embellished with a certain variety of imagery. The clouds are represented

Vishnu are connected. The *Sa*tapatha Brahma*n*a has the following story about Indra and Vishnu, v. 5, 5, 1 ff.:

"Formerly Vrttra had within him all the *Rk*, Yajush, and Sama verses. Indra was anxious to discharge a thunderblot at him, (2) and said to Vishnu: 'I shall shoot a thunderbolt at Vrttra; follow after me.' 'So be it,' said Vishnu, 'I will follow thee; smite him.' Indra then aimed a thunderbolt at Vrttra, who was alarmed at it, and said, (3) 'I have this (source of) strength; shall I give it up to thee? but do not smite at me.' So he gave him the Yajush verses. Indra then aimed a second thunderbolt at him, (4) when he said, 'I have this (source of) strength; shall I give it up to thee? but do not smite at me.' So he gave the *Rk* verses. Indra then aimed a third thunderbolt at him, (5) when he said, 'I have this (source of) strength; shall I give it up to thee? but do not smite at me.' So he gave him the Sama verses.....(7) Indra lifted up the thunderbolt; Vishnu followed him.

Agni is in several places (i. 109, 5, 7, 8; iii. 12, 4, 6; x. 65, 2) associated with Indra as a thunderer, a destroyer of Vrttra, and an overthrower of cities. Varu*n*a, too, is in one place (iv. 41, 4) joined with Indra as a thunderer.

‡ Vrttra (?) is said, in ii. 30, 3, to have rushed upon Indra, clothed in a cloud, but to have been overcome.

as mountains, or are variously characterized as the ancient or eternal (ii. 14, 6 ; viii. 17, 13 ; viii. 87, 6), the autumnal (i. 131, 4 ; vi. 20, 10), the moving (viii. 1, 28), and the iron (ii. 20, 8) or stone-built (iv. 30, 20) cities of the Asuras (or atmospheric demons), which Indra overthrows (i. 51, 5 ; i. 63, 7 ; i. 103, 2 ; i. 130, 7 ; i. 174, 8 ; ii. 19, 6 ; ii. 20, 7 ; iii. 12, 6 ; iv. 26, 3 ; iv. 30, 13 ; vi. 61, 4 ; viii. 82, 2 ; x. 89, 7). He casts down his enemies when he discovers them on the aerial mountains (i. 32, 2 : i. 130, 7 ; ii. 12, 11 ; iv. 30, 14 ; vi. 26, 5) ; or hurls them back when they attempt to scale the heavens (ii. 12, 12 ; viii. 14, 14). One of them he crushes under his foot (i. 51, 6), or pierces with ice (viii. 32, 26). He strikes off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters* (viii. 14, 13). One of his opponents is described as a monster with ninety-nine arms (ii. 14, 4), and another as having three heads and six eyes (x. 99, 6).

The growth of much of the imagery thus described is perfectly natural, and easily intelligible, particularly to persons who have lived in India, and witnessed the phenomena of the seasons in that country. At the close of the long hot weather, when every one is longing for rain to moisten the earth and cool the atmosphere, it is often extremely tantalizing to see the clouds collecting and floating across the sky day after day, without discharging their contents. And in the early ages when the Vedic hymns were composed it was an idea quite in consonance with the other general conceptions which their authors entertained, to imagine that some malignant influence was at work in the atmosphere to prevent the fall of the showers of which their parched fields stood so much in need. It was but a step further to personify both this hostile power and the beneficent agency by which it was at length overcome. Indra is thus at once a terrible warrior and a gracious friend, a god whose shafts deal destruction to his enemies, while they bring deliverance and prosperity to his worshippers. The phenomena of thunder and lightning almost inevitably suggest the idea of a conflict between opposing forces : even we ourselves, in our more prosaic age, often speak of the war or strife of the elements. The other appearances of the sky, too, would afford abundant materials for poetical imagery. The worshipper would at one time transform the fantastic shapes of the clouds into the chariots and horses of his god, and at another time would seem

* See above, in a preceding note.

to perceive in their piled-up masses the cities and castles which he was advancing to overthrow.

In numerous places of the Rig Veda, the highest divine functions and attributes are ascribed to Indra. A collection of the most striking of these passages will be found in my Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. pp. 85-94.

I subjoin some additional passages :

i. 61, 14. "Through fear of him when he is born, the stable mountains, and heaven and earth, are agitated."

i. 100, 1. "The monarch of the great heaven and of the earth..... 15. of whose godhead neither gods nor men have attained the limit, nor have the waters reached the end of his power," etc.

i. 101, 5. "He (Indra) who is the lord of the whole moving and breathing (world)," etc.

i. 165, 9. "There is nothing unconquered by thee : no god like thee is known. No one to be born, or yet born, can rival thee. Do, great god, whatever thou willest to do."

i. 173, 6. "Since Indra is so superior to men, heaven and earth do not suffice for his girdle," etc.

ii. 17, 5. "He has settled the ancient mountains by his might. He has supported the earth, the universal nurse. By his skill he has propped up the sky from falling."

iii. 30, 5. "When thou, O Maghavan, didst grasp even these two boundless worlds, they were but a handful to thee."*

iii. 46, 2. "Thou, who alone art the king of the whole world, etc.....3. Indra, in every respect unequalled, has surpassed all measures, has surpassed the gods : the impetuous deity has surpassed in greatness the heaven and the earth, and the broad and vast atmosphere."

iv. 17, 2. "At the birth of thee, the glorious one, the heaven trembled, and the earth, through fear of thy wrath," etc. (compare iv. 22, 3, 4.)

v. 30, 5. "When thou wert born, the highest and supreme, bearing a name renowned afar, the gods were then afraid of Indra," etc.

v. 42, 6. "Let us declare the deeds of the unrivalled, victorious, undecaying god, who is attended by the Maruts. Neither have former nor later (men), nor has any recent (man) comprehended thy valour."

* Compare Isaiah xl. 12.

vi. 30, 1. "Indra has surpassed the heaven and the earth. The two worlds are but equal to the half of him."

viii. 6, 15. "Neither heavens, nor atmospheres, nor earths, have equalled Indra the thunderer in might."

viii. 12, 30. "When thou (Indra) didst sustain the sun, a brilliant light, in the sky, then all worlds yielded to thee."

viii. 14, 9. "By Indra the lights of the sky have been fixed and established. Those which are established he has not removed."

viii. 15, 2. "Whose great vigour supported the two worlds, the mountains, plains," etc.

viii. 85, 4. "I regard thee, Indra, as the most adorable of the adorable, the caster-down of the unshaken,* the most distinguished of living things, the chief of beings.....6. Let us praise this Indra who produced these (worlds): all beings are inferior (or subsequent) to him."

viii. 86, 14. "All worlds, thunderer, both heaven and earth, tremble through fear of thee."

x. 44, 8. "He sustained the quaking mountains and plains: the sky resounded; he shook the atmosphere," etc. (Compare ii. 12, 2).

x. 54, 1. "(I celebrate), Maghavan, thy glory in that through thy greatness the terrified worlds invoked thee. Thou didst deliver the gods, etc. ..... 2. When thou didst march on increasing in bulk, proclaiming thy strength amongst men, thy combats which they describe were (thy proofs of) thy power; neither now nor before dost thou know of an enemy. 3. Which of all the seers before us have found out the end of all thy greatness? seeing that thou didst produce at once the father and the mother (heaven and earth)† from thine own body."

x. 89, 10. "Indra rules over the sky, Indra rules over the earth, Indra rules over the waters, and Indra rules over the mountains," etc.

In some places (iv. 19, 2; iv. 21, 10) he is called *samrat*, or universal monarch, in other places (iii. 46, 1; iii. 49, 2; viii. 12, 14) *svarat*, a self-dependent sovereign.

The preceeding passages afford a fair specimen of the language in which Indra is most commonly celebrated in the hymns. It will be observed that the attributes which are ascribed to him are chiefly those of physical superiority, and

* The Maruts are said to have the same power (i. 64, 3). † See above, p. 57.

of dominion over the external world. In fact, he is not generally represented as possessing the spiritual elevation and moral grandeur with which Varuṇa is so often invested. There are, however, many passages in which Indra's close relations with his worshippers are described, and a few in which an ethical character is attributed to him. Faith in him is confessed, or enjoined (i. 55, 5; i. 103, 5; i. 104, 6, 7; ii. 12, 5); and the reality of his existence and power is asserted in opposition to sceptical or faithless doubts (ii. 12, 5; ii. 18, 3, 4; viii. 89, 3 ff.). He is the friend, and even the brother, of his present worshippers, as he was friend of their forefathers (ii. 18, 8; ii. 20, 3; iii. 53, 5; iv. 23, 6; vi. 18, 5; vi. 21, 5, 8; vi. 45, 1, 7; x. 22, 1, 2; x. 23, 7; x. 42, 2, 4, 11); but he desires no friendship with the man who offers no oblations (x. 42, 4). He is reminded that he has friends, while his adorers are friendless (viii. 21, 4). His friend is never slain or conquered* (x. 152, 1). It is he almost exclusively† who is invoked as the patron of the Aryyas, and their protector against their enemies, aerial or earthly ‡ (i. 51, 8, 9; i. 103, 3; i. 130, 8; ii. 11, 18; iii. 34, 9; iv. 26, 2; vi. 18, 3; vi. 25, 2; viii. 24, 27; viii. 87, 6; x. 49, 3; x. 86, 19 [?]). He is invoked by men like a father (x. 48, 1). He is embraced by the hymns of his votaries as a husband is embraced by his wives (x. 43, 1). His right hand is grasped by suppliants for riches (x. 47, 1). His powerful arms are resored to for protection (vi. 47, 8). He is a preserver and deliverer easy to be entroated (vi. 47, 11). He is implored not to slay for one, two, three, or even for many, sins§ (viii. 45, 34). He richly rewards his faithful servants (ii. 11, 16; ii. 12, 6, 14, 15; ii. 19, 4; ii. 22, 3; v. 37, 1, 4, 5; x. 160,

* The same is said of Mitra (iii. 59, 2); and of the Maruts (v. 54, 7).

† The Asvins are, however, said, in i. 117, 21, to have created a great light for the Aryya. In vi. 21, 11, all the gods are said to have made Manu superior to the Dasa; Vishṇu is elsewhere said to have traversed the earth to give it for a domain to Manu (vii. 100, 4); and Agni is called the promoter of the Arya (*aryasya vardhanam*, viii. 92, 1).

‡ Indra is, however, also invoked for aid against enemies of the Aryan race, as well as against aliens (vi. 60, 6; x. 38, 3; x. 102, 3). Indra and Varuṇa are invoked together for the same purposes (vii. 83, 1). Manyu is supplicated for the same objects (x. 83, 1) The gods (apparently those specified in the preceding verses) are said (x. 65, 11) to spread Aryan rites upon earth.

§ In reply to this, Indra is made to ask (v. 37) "What friend, O mortals, ever kills his friend without provocation?" See Nirukta iv. 2; and o1Rh's Illustrations, p. 38.

3, 4), though he is sometimes natively importuned to be more prompt in his generosity (iv. 21, 9 ; x. 42, 3), and is even told that his worshipper, if in his place, and possessed of his means, would be more liberal, and not leave his friends in destitution (vii. 32, 18, 19 ; viii. 14, 1, 2 ; and see Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 545). He is supplicated for all sorts of temporal blessings, and among the rest for victory in war (ii. 12, 8, 9 ; and especially x. 103, 7 ff.). As a man in walking puts first one foot forward and then the other, so Indra by his power changes the relative positions of men ; he subdues the fierce and advances others : lord of both worlds, he is the enemy of the prosperous and ungodly man (vi. 47, 15, 16) ; he punishes sinners and those who offers no sacrifice (i. 131, 4 ; ii. 12, 10 ; v. 42, 9 ; viii. 59, 10, 11),* while he protects his own servants, and leads them into a "large room," into celestial light and security (vi. 47, 8).

Professor Roth is of opinion that Varuṇa belongs to an older dynasty of gods than Indra, and that during the Vedic age the high consideration originally attaching to the former was in course of being transferred to the latter. In support of his position that Varuṇa's worship was then declining, he urges the circumstance that in the tenth book of the Rig Veda, which contains the latest productions of that period, there is not a single entire hymn addressed to that deity.†

This suppression of the one god by the other, Roth considers to be a result, or feature, of the gradual modification which the old Arian religion soon began to undergo after it had been transplanted into India. The more supersensuous or spiritual elements of this religion he thinks were preserved, though in a peculiar and somewhat altered form, in the Persian creed,

* Compare R. V. viii. 21, 14 (=S. V. ii 740), which is thus rendered by Professor Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 543 f.) : "Thou never findest a rich man to be thy friend ; wine-swillers despise thee. But when thou thunderest, when thou gatherest (the clouds), then thou art called like a father." Benfey renders the verse somewhat differently, thus : "Thou never takest for a friend the man who is merely rich ; he who is inflated with wine is a burthen to thee : with a mere sound thou smitest them, and then thou art supplicated like a father."

† See the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi 73 ; and Boehtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit and German Lexicon, *s.v.* Indra. Professor Whitney adopts the same view (Journ. Amer. Orient. Society, iii. 327). Windischmann, in his Mithra, p. 54, extends the same remark to that god also. The passage is translated in Sanskrit Texts, ii. 295.

which at the same time rejected almost entirely the gods representing the powers of nature, whom it had also inherited from an earlier age. The Indian faith, as found in the Rig-veda, has, on the contrary, according to Roth, begun already to give the preference to these latter deities, to transfer to them an ever increasing dignity and honour, to draw down the divine life into nature, and to bring it ever closer to men. He finds proof of this in the development of the myth regarding Indra, a god who, in the earlier period of Arian religious history, either had no existence, or was confined to an obscure province. The Zend Avesta ascribes the function which forms the essence of the later myth concerning Indra to another god. This god Trita, however, disappears in the Indian mythology of the Vedic age, and is succeeded by Indra. And not only so, but towards the end of this period Indra begins to set aside even Varuna himself the highest god of the ancient creed, from the position which is proved, partly by historical testimonies, and partly by the very conception of his character, to belong to him, and becomes, if not the supreme god, at least the national god, whom his encomiasts seek to elevate above the ancient Varuna. Thus, according to Roth, an old god, common to the Arians (*i. e.* the Persians and Indians), and perhaps also to the entire Indo-Germanic race, Varuna-Ormuzd-Uranos, is thrown into the background, and in his room Indra, a peculiarly Indian and national god, is introduced. (See the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 76 f.)

I am not aware that Roth has anywhere stated in detail any other proofs of the anteriority of Varuna to Indra.

The superior antiquity of the former may, however (as intimated in the passage just quoted from that writer), be argued from the fact, already noticed, of the coincidence of his name with that of the Greek Ouranos, which goes some way to prove that a deity of this name was worshipped by the entire Indo-Germanic race before its western branches were separated from the eastern, whilst we shall look in vain for any traces of the name Indra in the Greek mythology.

If, further, Roth's opinion* that there is not merely an analogy, but an actual historical connection between the Adityas and the Amshaspands of the Zend Avesta, be well founded, it will be made out that Varuna, who is one of the Adityas, must have been worshipped by the Aryans before the separation of

* Journ. Germ. Orient. Society, vi. 69. 70.

the Persian from the Indian branch of that family. And this conclusion will be strengthened if we adopt the suggestion of Professor Whitney,* that Ahura-Mazda is a development of Varuna.

I learn, however, from a communication with which I have lately been favoured by Professor Spiegel, of Erlangen, that that eminent Zend scholar is unable to recognize any similarity between Ahura-Mazda and Varuna, and considers the connection of the Amshaspands with the Adityas to be very doubtful. And such of the grounds for regarding Varuna as an older deity than Indra as might otherwise have been derived from the Zend Avesta would be a good deal weakened if with the same scholar (Avesta, i. 10) we should look upon the Indra or Andra of the Zend books as standing for Indra, and as representing a deity who had at one time been an object of worship common both to the Indian and Persian Aryans, but who after the separation of the two tribes was degraded by the latter into an evil spirit. For while Indra would thus be proved to have been known before the period of that separation, he might also have been at one time a god held by both divisions of the Aryas in as much consideration as Varuna. I learn, however, from Professor Spiegel, that the materials afforded by the Zend books in reference to this name are not sufficient to afford a basis for any far-reaching conclusions. †

* Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 327. There is no doubt that the term *Asura*, "spirit," which is frequently applied to Varuna and to Mitra, and also to Indra and others of the Vedic gods, is the same word which, in its Zend form Ahura, makes up, with the addition of Mazda, the appellation of the supreme and benevolent deity of the Iranian mythology. Professor Müller regards the names Ahuro Mazdao as corresponding to the Sanskrit Asuro-medhas, the "wise spirit" (Lectures on the Science of Language, 1st edition, p. 195). In regard to Ahura-Mazda and the Amshaspands, Professor Spiegel has, as he informs me, collected all the positive information he could obtain in the Avesta, in the Introduction to the 3rd vol. of his translation, pp. iii. ff.

† The identification of Andra with Indra was, as Professor Spiegel tells me, first proposed by Burnouf (Yasna 526 ff.), where a translation is given of the passage in which Andra is mentioned. It is rendered thus by Spiegel himself, in his Avesta, i. 176: "I fight with Indra, I fight with Sauru, I fight with the Daeva Naoghaithi, to drive them away from the dwelling, the village, the castle, the country." The name Indra or Andra, as Professor Spiegel further informs me, occurs only in one other passage (Westergard, Zendavesta, p. 475) which he (Prof. S.) believes to be interpolated. It contains merely the name, and consequently throws no further light on the position of the god in the Avesta. The information found in the later

Beyond the fact noticed by Roth, that Varuna is much less frequently mentioned in the last than in the earlier books of the Rig Veda, I have not observed in the hymns themselves anything that can be construed as a decisive proof that the worship of Indra was superseding that of Varuna during the period of their composition. Even in the earlier parts of the Veda the number of hymns addressed to the former god is much greater than that in which the latter is celebrated. But I have not discovered any expressions which would distinctly indicate that the popularity of the one was waning, and that of the other increasing. There are, however, some passages which, though they do not afford any clear indications in support of such a supposition, are, at all events, not inconsistent with its correctness. Thus there are a good many hymns in which Indra is associated with Varuna as an object of celebration, such as i. 17 ; iv. 41 ; iv. 42 ; vii. 82 ; vii. 83 ; vii. 84 ; vii. 85 ; etc ; and this association of the two might have arisen from the worshippers of Indra desiring to enhance the dignity of that god by attaching him to the older and more venerable deity. The two gods are called *friends* (iv. 41, 3 ; vii. 34, 24) ; and this might bear the interpretation that some of their worshippers had been in the habit of regarding them as *rivals* and *enemies*. They are called the two monarchs, *samraja*, and the supporters of all creatures* (i. 17, 1, 2) ; fixed in their designs, *dhrta-vrata* (vi. 68, 10). Varuna is supplicated, along with Indra, to discharge a gleaming and violent thunderbolt (iv. 41, 4), though in most other places (see above) Indra alone is regarded as the thunderer. In iv. 42, 26,† the two gods appear to be identified. In vii. 82, 2, it is said that one of the two, Varuna, is called *samrat*, monarch (as he is in various places, see above, p. 79),

Parsee books regarding Indra or Andra is also meagre (compare Spiegel's Avesta, ii. 35). On this subject Professor Spiegel makes the following remarks, in the Introduction to the 3rd vol. of his Avesta, p. lxxxi. : "It is said by some that the Andra of the Avesta is the Indra of the Vedas, that Naoghaithya answers to Nasatyas, and Saurva to Sarva. Here from a real fact a quite incorrect conclusion is drawn. The names are the same in both religious systems ; but how far the things resembled each other can never be shown in the same manner as the similarity of Soma and Haoma, etc. ; for the Avesta tells us nothing more than the name of any of the beings in question."

* The same epithet *dharttara charshaninam* is also applied to Mitra in v. 67, 2 ; and Varuna is called *charshani-dhrt*, "supporter of creatures," in iv. 1, 2.

† Compare R. V. iv. 26, 1 ; and i. 164, 46.

and the other, Indra, is called *svarat*, independent ruler (iii. 46, 1, and elsewhere ; see obove), and their separate functions are described in other parts of this and the following hymns (vii. 82, 2, 5, 6 ; vii. 83, 9 ; vii. 84, 2 ; vii. 85, 3), as their joint action is in other verses. Thus they are said to have dug the channels of the rivers, to have impelled the sun in the sky (vii. 82, 3), and to have made all creatures (ibid. 5). All the other gods are said to have infused strength and vigour into these two in the highest heaven (ibid. 2). These passages are consistent with the supposition that the two gods were felt to have been rivals, and that the author of the hymn sought to reconcile their conflicting claims.

But Vish*n*u and Indra are also joined together in the same way in some hymns, i. 155 ; vi. 69 ; vii. 99, 4 ff. ; as are also Agni and Indra in others, i. 21 ; i. 108 ; i. 109 ; iii. 12 ; v. 86 ; vi. 59.

A number of verses occur in different parts of the Rig Veda (viz. i. 133, 1 ; iv. 23, 7 ; v. 2, 3 ; vii. 18, 16 ; x. 27, 6 ; x. 48, 7) in which the epithet *anindra*, "one who is no worshipper of Indra," is employed ; but it is not clear to whom it is applied, whether (1) to persons who were not worshippers of Indra in particular, as distinguished from other Aryan gods, or (2) to the aboriginal tribes who did not worship either him or any other Aryan god, or perhaps (3) to evil spirits as the enemies of Indra. In other places (as I have above noticed) we find sceptical doubts expressed regarding Indra, as in ii. 12, 5 : "Have faith in him, that terrible one, regarding whom men ask, 'Where is he ?' and declare of him that 'He is not ;' . . . . . he, O men, is Indra ;" and viii. 89, 3, 4 : "Present to Indra a hymn soliciting food, a true hymn, if he truly exists. 'Indra does not exist,' says some one ; 'who has seen him ? whom shall we praise ? 'I am here, O worshipper,' [exclaims Indra] ; 'behold me here ; I surpass all creatures in greatness.' "

I have not noticed any passage in which any sceptical doubts are expessed regarding Varu*n*a.

The twelfth hymn of the second book is devoted to the glorification of Indra. The first and second verses are as follows :— " He who, as soon as born, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force : at whose might the two worlds trembled, through the greatness of his strength, he, O men, is Indra. He who fixed the quivering earth, who settled the agitated mountains, who meted out the vast atmosphere, who stablished the sky,—

he, O men, is Indra." The following verses all end in the same way, by declaring that Indra is he who had performed the various acts, or possessed the various powers, which they specify. This might appear as a polemical assertion against gainsayers of Indra's claims to recognition as a fit object of worship.*

In x. 48, 11, Indra is introduced as saying that "he, a god, does not obstruct the power (or glory) of the Adityas, the Vasus, or the sons of Rudra, who have promoted his (Indra's) power, and made him unconquerable, irreversible, and unassailable."

In x. 49, 10, Indra says of himself that he had placed in the waters what even the gods and Tvash*tr* could not place; and (*v.* 11) that he had both gods and men in force.

In viii. 51, 2, it is said that, "without a fellow, unequalled by men, Indra, alone, unconquered, has surpassed in power former generations and all creatures." Here Prof. Aufrecht has conjectured (see Sanskrit Texts, iv. p. 91, note 79) that the words *purvih krshtih* may denote races of gods anterior to Indra. In *v.* 7 of the same hymn it is said that all the gods yield to Indra in valour and strength. In *v.* 12 the worshippers protest that their praises are true and not false; and declare that great destruction falls upon him who pours out no libations to Indra,† while he who does offer them is blessed with abundant light.

In iv. 30, 1 ff, Indra is described as having no superior or equal, as having headed all the gods in battle, and as having alone conquered all the enemies of the gods. And in the following passages (formerly quoted in Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. pp. 85, ff.), it is said that all of the gods are unable to frustrate the mighty deeds and counsels of Indra (ii. 30, 4); that no one, whether god or man, either surpasses or equals him (vi. 30, 4); that no one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to him (vii. 32, 23); and that by battle he has acquired ample space (or wealth) for the gods (vii. 98, 3). And it is even said (i. 101, 3) that Varu*n*a and Surya are subject to the command of Indra; and in x. 89, 8, 9, that the latter can destroy the enemies of Mitra, Aryaman, and Varu*n*a (hereby evincing, of course, his superiority to those three gods).

* There is another hymn (x. 86), each verse of which ends with the words, "Indra is superior to all;" but the drift of the hymn is too obscure to admit of my determining whether it has any polemical tendency or not.

† This sentiment appears to be repeated from i. 101, 4.

All these texts, however, which are so laudatory of Indra, may be paralleled in the Rig-veda, not only by similar ones referring to Mitra and Varuṇa (as we have seen above), but also by a farther set of texts, in which other gods are magnified in the same style of panegyric. This is in accordance with the practice of the Indian poets to exaggerate* (in a manner which renders them often mutually inconsistent) the attributes of the particular deity who happens at the moment to be the object of celebration. Thus in ii. 38, 9, it is said that neither Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, nor Rudra can resist the ordinance of Savitṛ; in iv. 13, 2, that Varuṇa and Mitra conform to his will; and in vii. 38, 4, that the divine Aditi, and the kings Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman unite to magnify the same deity. Again, in i. 156, 4, it is declared that king Varuṇa and the Aśvins submit to the power of Vishṇu. In i. 141, 9, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman are said to be eclipsed (?) by Agni when he blazes forth. In iv. 5, 4, the same god is besought to consume those enemies who menace the stable abodes† of Varuṇa and the wise Mitra. In i. 128, 7, Agni is said to deliver men from the evil (*dhurtteh*) inflicted by the mighty god Varuṇa. In iv. 1, 2, 3, Agni is solicited to bring Varuṇa, his brother and friend; and in *vv.* 4 and 5, of the same hymn, to remove Varuṇa and to avert his anger.

If, therefore, we were to infer from passages like i. 101, 3 (which declares Varuṇa and the Sun to be subject to Indra), that the worship of Indra was beginning to gain ground on that of Varuṇa, we should have, in like manner, to conclude from the other texts just cited, that the worship of Savitṛ was beginning to supersede not only that of Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, and Aditi, their mother, but also that of Rudra, and ever of Indra himself.

VII. Vayu.

Vayu, the wind, as we have already seen, is often associated with Indra. (See also i. 2,4; i. 14,3; i. 23,2; i. 135,4 ff.; i. 139, 1; ii. 41, 3; iv. 46, 2 ff.; iv. 47, 2 ff.; v. 51, 4, 6 f.; vii. 90, 5 ff.; vii. 91, 4 ff.; x. 65, 9; x. 141, 4). The two gods appear to have been regarded by the ancient expositors of the Veda as closely connected with each other; for the Nairuktas, as quoted by Yaska (Nirukta, vii. 5), while they fix upon Agni and Surya

* See Müller's Anc. Ind. Lit., pp. 532 ff.

† Ordinances.—Roth, *s.v. dhaman.*

as the representatives of the terrestrial and celestial gods respectively, speak of Vayu and Indra in conjunction, as deities either of whom may represent those of the intermediate sphere.

Vayu does not occupy a very prominent place in the Rig-veda. If we except the allegorical description in the Purusha Sukta, x. 90, 13, where he is said to have sprung from the breath of Purusha ; or unless we understand vii. 90, 3, to assert that he was produced by heaven and earth, there is no passage where the parentage of Vayu is declared. He is, however, said to be the son-in-law of Tvash*tr* (viii. 26, 21 f.), though his wife's name is not given. But few epithets are applied to him. He is called *darsata*, "beautiful," or "conspicuous" (i. 2, 1), and *supsarastama*, "most handsome in form" (viii. 26, 24). He is described as *krandad-ishti*, "rushing noisily onwards" (x. 100, 2). Together with indra, he is designated as touching the sky, swift as thought, wise, thousand-eyed (i. 23, 2, 3). He moves in a shining car (iv. 48, 1 ; i. 134, 1 ; i. 135, 4 ; iv. 47, 1), drawn by a pair of red or purple horses (i. 134, 3). His team, however, is often said to consist of ninety-nine, of a hundred or even of a thousand horses, swift as thought (i. 135, 1, 3 ; ii. 41, 1 ; iv. 48, 4, 5 ; vii. 91, 6 ; vii. 92, 1, 5). As before mentioned, Indra and Vayu frequently occupy the same chariot (iv. 46. 2 ; iv. 48, 2 ; vii. 81, 4), which has its framework of gold, which touches the sky, and is drawn by a thousand horses (iv. 46, 3, 4). Vayu, like the other gods, is a drinker of soma. In fact, he alone, or in conjunction with Indra, seems to be entitled to the first draught of this libation (i. 134, 1 ; i. 135, 1, 4 ; iv. 46, 1 ; v. 43, 3 ; vii. 92, 2 ; viii. 26, 25). It is remarkable that Vayu is but rarely connected with the Maruts or deities of the storm ; but in one place (i. 134, 4) he is said to have begotten them and in another place (i. 142, 12) to be attended by Pushan, the Maruts and the Visve devas.

The following hymns are addressed to Vata (another name of the god of the wind). The imagery in the first is highly poetical :

x. 168. "1. (I celebrate) the glory of Vata's chariot ; its noise comes rending and resounding. Touching the sky, he moves onward, making all things ruddy : and he comes propelling the dust of the earth. 8. The gusts of the air rush after him, and congregate in him as women in an assembly. Sitting along with him on the same car, the god, who is king of this universe, is borne along. 3. Hasting forward, by paths in the atmos-

phere, he never rests on any day. Friend of the waters, first-born, holy, in what place was he born? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, source of the universe, this deity moves as he lists.* His sounds have been heard, but his form is not (seen): this Vata let us worship with an oblation."

x. 186. "1. Let Vata, the wind, waft to us healing,† salutary, and auspicious, to our heart: may he prolong our lives. 2. And, Vata, thou art our father, our brother, and our friend: cause us to live. 3. From the treasure of immortality, which is deposited yonder in thy house, O Vata, give us to live."

Here the same property is ascribed to Vata which is elsewhere ascribed to Rudra, that of bringing healing.

VIII. The Maruts.

The Maruts, or Rudras, the gods of the tempest, who form a large troop (viii. 85, 8), are the sons of Rudra and *Prsni*‡ (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 42, 15; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5; vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 7, 3, 17; viii. 20, 17). They are, however, said to be like sons to Indra (i. 100, 5); and they are also called *sindhu-mâtarah*, children of the ocean, whether we suppose this to be the aerial or terrestrial sea (x. 78, 6), and sons of heaven, *divacputrâsah* (x. 77, 2). They are frequently associated with Indra, as we have already seen (compare i. 23, 7, 8; i. 100, 1 ff.; i. 101, 1 ff.; i. 169, 1 ff.; iii. 32, 3, 4: iii. 35, 9; iii. 47, 1 ff.; iii. 51, 7 ff.; v. 29, 1, 2, 6; v. 57, 1; vi. 19, 11; vii. 32, 10; vii. 42, 5; viii. 36, 1 ff.; viii. 52, 10; viii. 65, 1 ff.; viii. 78, 1 ff.; viii. 85, 7 ff.; viii. 7, 24; x. 73, 1 ff.; x. 99, 5; x. 113, 3); but they are also celebrated separately in numerous hymns (as i. 37; i. 38; i. 39; i. 64; i. 85; i. 86; i. 87; i. 88; i. 166; i. 167; i. 168; iii. 52; iii. 53; iii. 54; iii. 55; iii. 56; vii. 56; vii. 57; vii. 58, etc.) They are favourite deities of some of the rishis, and are often praised in highly poetical strains. They are like blazing fires, free from soil, of golden or tawny hue, and of sunlike brilliancy (vi. 66, 2; vii. 59, 11; viii. 7, 7). They are also compared to swans with black plumage (vii. 59, 7); and are sometimes said to be playful as children (i. 166, 2; x. 78, 6).

* Compare St. John's Gospel, iii. 8: "The wind bloweth where it listeth," etc.

† Compare i. 89, 4.

‡ This word is perhaps a personification of the speckled clouds. See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 39, p. 145.

They are thus apostrophized in v. 54, 11: "Spears rest upon your shoulders, ye Maruts; ye have anklets on your feet, golden ornaments on your breasts, fiery lightnings in your hands, and golden helmets* on your heads." (Compare i. 64, 4; i. 166, 10; ii. 34, 2, 3; v. 53, 4; v. 55, 1; v. 57, 5, 6; v. 58, 2; vii. 56, 11, 13; viii. 7, 25; viii. 20, 4, 11, 22; x. 78, 2). They are armed with golden weapons, and with lightnings, dart thunder-

* In ii. 34, 3, the epithet of *hiranya-siprah* is applied to these deities. This Sayana explains by *suvarnamaya-sirastranah*, "with golden helmets." That one sense of *sipra* (feminine) is "a head-dress, or a helmet," is settled by v. 54, 11, where the words are *siprah sirshasu vitatah hiranyayih*, "golden helmets are stretched (or placed) upon your heads;" and also by viii. 7, 25, where it is said, *siprah sirshan hiranyayih . . vyanjata sriye*, "they displayed for ornament golden helmets on their heads." In the first of these passages, Sayana interprets *siprah* as meaning a "turban," in the second a "helmet." This shews that *siprah*, in these texts at least, must mean something external to the head, and not a feature of the face, as it is often interpreted, when applied to Indra. Thus *susipra* is explained by Sayana on i. 9, 3, as meaning *sobhana-hano sobhana-nasika va*, "having handsome jaws, or a handsome nose;" since Yaska, he says, makes *sipra* to mean one or other of these two parts of the face (Nirukta, vi. 17). The same explanation is given by Sayana on i. 29, 2; i. 81, 4; and i. 101, 10. On iii. 30, 3, however, the same commentator says: *sipra-sabdena sirastranam abhidhiyate | sobhanasirastranopetah | yadva sobhana-hanuman |* "By the word *sipra*, a helmet is signified. *Susiprah* therefore means 'having a handsome helmet,' or it means 'having handsome jaws.' On iii. 32, 3; iii. 36, 10; viii. 32, 4, 24; viii. 33, 7; viii. 55, 4; he returns to the latter interpretation. On viii. 17, 4; viii. 81, 4; viii. 82, 12; he again gives the alternative explanation as on iii. 30, 3.

Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with a note on the subject of the word *sipra* and its derivatives, of which the following are the most important parts: *Sipra* in the dual means jaws (i. 101, 10; iii. 32, 1; v. 36, 2; viii. 65, 10; x. 96, 9; x. 105, 5). *Sipravat* means "having large jaws" (vi. 17, 2). *Siprin* means the same, and is used only of Indra (i. 29, 2; i. 81, 4; iii. 36, 10, etc. etc). *Siprini*, as Prof. Aufrecht considers, means "a draught (imbibed by the jaws);" and he translates i. 30, 11, thus: ("Receive) our draughts, thunderer, soma-drinkers." *Siprinivat* (x. 105, 5) will thus be "he who possesses the draught." *Siprah* in v. 54, 11, and viii. 7, 25, are "visors," the two parts of which are compared to two jaws. *Ayah-sipra*, used of the *Rbhus* (iv. 37, 4) will consequently mean "having iron visors." The word occurs in other compounds, to which I need not here refer.

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the armour of India to know whether any thing like a visor was or is used by warriors in that country. It is, however, customary for the Hindus in particular circumstances (as for protection from the heat, and also from the cold, and for purposes of disguise) to wear their turbans not only wrapped horizontally round their heads, but also perpendicularly under their chins and over the tops of their heads, thus enclosing the sides of their faces.

bolts, and are borne along with the fury of the winds (v. 54, 3; viii. 7, 4, 17, 32; x. 78, 2, 3); they split Vṛttra into fragments (viii. 7, 23); they are clothed with rain (v. 57, 4); they distribute showers all over the world, and avert heat (v. 54, 1; v. 55, 5; viii. 7, 4, 16). They open up a path for the sun (viii. 7, 8). They shake the mountains, the earth, and both the worlds, (i. 37, 8; i. 39, 5; i. 87, 3; v. 54, 1, 3; v. 60, 2, 3; vii. 57, 1; viii. 7, 4; viii. 20, 5). They overturn trees, and, like wild elephants, they devour the forests (i. 39, 5; i. 64, 7). They have iron teeth (i. 88, 5); they roar like lions (i. 64, 8); all creatures are afraid of them (i. 85, 8). Their weapons are of various descriptions—spears, bows, quivers, and arrows (i. 37, 2; v. 57, 2). They are swift as thought (i. 85, 4). They ride, with whips in their hands (i. 37, 3), in golden cars (v. 57, 1), with golden wheels (i. 64, 11; i. 88, 5), drawn by ruddy and tawny horses (with which the chariots are said to be winged), and flashing forth lightnings (i. 88, 1, 2; v. 57, 4). The animals by which these chariots are described as being drawn are designated in some places by the epithet *prshatîh* (i. 37, 2; i. 39, 6; i. 85, 5; viii. 7, 28), which Prof. Wilson—following Sayana on Rig-veda, i. 37, 2*—renders by "spotted deer." But in i. 38, 12, the horses (*asvâsah*) of the Maruts are spoken of; as is also the case in viii. 7, 27, where they (the horses) are called *hiranya-pânibhih*, "golden-footed;" though in the next verse (28) the *prshatih* are again spoken of, as well as *a prashtih rohitah*, which Sayana understands to denote either a swift buck, or a buck yoked as a leader to the does. In i. 87, 4, the troop of Maruts itself receives the epithet *prshad-asva*, "having spotted horses." This is, indeed, explained by Sayana in the sense of "having does marked with white spots instead of horses;"† but in his notes on v. 54, 2, 10, and v. 55, 1, where the Maruts' horses are again spoken of, he does not repeat this explanation. In v. 55, 6, where the Maruts are described as having yoked *prshatih* (feminine) as horses (*asvan*, masculine) to their chariots, Sayana says we may either understand "spotted mares," or suppose the word "horse" to stand for doe (*prshatih...prshad-*

* *Prshatyo vîndu-yukta mrgyo Marud-vahana-bhutah* | "*prshatyo Marutam*" *iti Nighantav uktatvat* | See also his note on the same word in ii. 34, 3.

† Benfey, in his translation of this verse (Orient. und Occident, ii. 250) retains the sense of antelopes. In vii. 56, 1, the Maruts are styled *svasvah*, "having good horses," which Sayana explains *sobhana-vahah*, "having good carriers."

varna vadavah | sarangi va atra asva-sabda-vachya). In his note on *prshatibhih* in ii, 34, 3, he says they may be either does marked with white spots, or mares ; and he interprets *prshatih* in v. 57, 3, by *asvah*, mares. Professor Aufrecht, who has favoured me with a note on the subject of the word *prshatih*, is of opinion, that, looking to all the passages where it occurs in connection with the Maruts, it must mean mares.*

Some traces are perceptible in the Rig-veda of a dispute between the votaries of the Maruts and those of Indra in regard to their respectivo claims to worship. Thus in hymns 165 and 170 of the first book of the R. V. we find dialouges in the first case between Indra and Maruts, and in the second between Indra and Agastya, regarding the respective claims of these deities to worship. In i. 165, 6, Indra asks, "Where was your inherent power, ye Maruts, when he left me alone† in the conflict with Ahi? It was I who, fierce, strong, and energetic, overturned my enemies with my shafts." The Maruts rejoin : "7. Vigorous god, thou hast done great things with us for thy helpers, through our equal valour ; for O strong Indra we Maruts by our power perform many great exploits when we desire." Indra replies : "8. By my own prowess, Maruts I slew Vṛttra, mighty in my wrath," etc.

Of hymn i. 170, the Nirukta says, i. 5, that "Agastya, having prepared an oblation for Indra, desired to give the Maruts also a share in it. On which Indra came and complained." The Maruts reply, *v.* 2 : "Why dost thou seek to kill us, Indra? The Maruts are thy brothers. Act amicably towards them. Do not kill us in the fray."‡ Indra then says to Agastya, *v.* 3 : "Why dost thou, brother Agastya, being our friend, disregard us? For we know how thy mind is. Thou wilt not give us anything."—(See Roth's Elucidations of Nirukta, p. 6.)

In the following passages the Maruts are said to worship Indra, viz. : iii. 32, 3 ; v. 29, 1, 2, 6 ; vi. 17, 11 ; viii. 3, 7 ; viii. 78, 1 ; viii. 78, 3.

* Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out a number of passages regarding the sense of the words *prshad-asva* and *prshat*, as Rayamukuta on Amara, the Vaj. Sanh. xxiv. 11, 18 ; Satapatha Brahmana, v. 5, 1, 10, and v. 5, 2, 9. He has also indicated another verse of the Rig-veda (v. 58, 6) where *prshatibhis* in the feminine is joined with *asvaih* in the masculine ; and remarks that viii. 54, 10, 11, could not mean that the rishi received a thousand antelopes. Prof. Roth appears, from a remark under the word *eta* (vol. i. p. 1091 of his Dict.) to regard *prshatyah* as a kind of deer.

† See above, p. 94. ‡ See Roth on this text, *s. v. kalp.*

IX. Surya and Savitr.

The great powers presiding over day and night are, as we have seen above, supposed by the Indian Commentators to be personified in Mitra and Varuṇa. But these deities, and especially Varuṇa, as described in the Veda, are far more than the mere representatives of day and night. They are also recognized as moral governors, as well as superintendents of physical phenomena. There are two other gods (also, as has been already noticed, reckoned in a few passages as belonging to the Adityas), * who are exact personifications of the sun, viz. : Surya and Savitṛ. It is under these two different appellations that the sun is chiefly celebrated in the Rig Veda ; and although it may be difficult to perceive why the one name should be used in any particular case rather than the other, the application of the names may perhaps depend upon some difference in the aspect under which the sun is conceived, or on some diversity in the functions which he is regarded as fulfilling. Different sets of hymns are, at any rate, devoted to his worship under each of these names, and the epithets which are applied to him in each of these characters are for the most part separate. In some few places, both these two names, and occasionally some others, appear to be applied to the solar deity indiscriminately, but in most cases the distinction between them is nominally, least, preserved.

The principal hymns, or portions of hymns, in praise of Surya are the following :—i. 50, 1-13 ; i. 115, 1-6 ; iv. 13, 1-3 : iv. 45, 6 ; v. 5, 6, 8, 9 ; v. 45, 9, 10 ; v. 59, 5 ; vii. 60, 1-4 ; x. 37, 1 ff. He is treated in Nirukta, xii. 14-16.

Surya is described as moving on a car, which is sometimes said to be drawn by one, and sometimes by several, or by seven fleet horses † (i. 115, 3, 4 ; vii. 60, 3 ; vii. 63, 2 ; ix. 63, 8 ; x. 37, 3 ; x. 49, 7). His path is prepared by the Adityas, Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa (i. 24, 8 ; vii. 60, 4 ; vii. 87, 1). Pushan goes as his messenger with his golden ships, which sail in the aerial ocean (vi. 58, 3). He is the preserver and soul of all things stationary and moving

* In x. 88, 11, Surya is styled Aditeya ; and in viii. 90, 11, Aditya. In other places, viii. 35 ff. and 13 ff., he is mentioned separately from the Adityas ; but so also is Varuṇa in viii. 35, 1.

† Indra is said to traverse the sky with the sun's horses (x. 49, 7). Compare Ovid's description of Phaethon's horses, Metam. ii. 153.

(i. 115, 1; vii. 60, 2) and the vivifier (*prasavita**) of men (vii. 63, 2, 4). He is far-seeing, all-seeing;† beholds all creatures and the good and bad deeds of mortals (iv. 1, 7; vi. 51, 2; vii. 35, 8; vii. 60, 2; vii. 61, 1, 4; x. 37, 1). He is the eye‡ of Mitra and Varuṇa (i. 115,1;§ vi. 51,1; vii. 61, 1; vii. 63,1; x. 37, 1. Compare vii. 76, 1; x. 10, 9; x. 16, 3). He knows the three spheres and separate races of the gods (vi. 51, 2). He upholds the sky (x. 85, 1). He rolls up darkness like a hide (vii. 63, 1). He is said to be, through his greatness, the divine leader or priest (*asuryaḥ purohitaḥ*) of the gods (viii. 90, 12). In viii. 82, 1, 4, he is identified with Indra. In x. 170, 4, the epithets *visvakarman*, the architect of the universe, and *visvadevyavat*, the sovereign deity, are applied to him (as in viii. 87, 2, Indra also is styled *visvakarman* and *visvadevaḥ*). In vii. 60, 1, and vii. 62, 2, he is said to declare men sinless to Mitra, Varuṇa, etc.

In many passages, however, the dependent position of Surya is asserted. Thus he is said to have been produced, or caused to shine, or to rise, or to have his path prepared etc., by Indra (ii. 12, 7; iii. 31, 15; iii. 32, 8; iii. 44, 2; iii. 49, 4; vi. 17, 5; viii. 78, 7;‖ viii. 87, 2; x. 171, 4); by Indra and Soma (vi. 72, 2); by Agni (x. 3, 2; x. 88, 6; x. 156, 4); by Soma (vi. 44, 23; ix. 63, 7; ix. 75, 1; ix. 86, 29; ix. 96, 5; ix. 97, 41; ix. 107,7; ix. 110,3); by Dhatṛ (x. 190,3); by Varuṇa (i. 24, 8; vii. 87, 1); by Mitra and Varuṇa (iv. 13, 2; v. 63, 4, 7; vii. 82, 3); and by the Angirases through their rites (x. 62, 3). He is declared to be god-born (x. 37, 1), to be the son of the sky (ibid.), to have been drawn by the gods from the ocean where he was hidden (x. 72, 7), to have been placed by the gods in heaven (x. 88, 11, where he is identified with Agni); and to

* This word and others derived from the same root *su*, are, as we shall shortly see, very frequently applied to Savitṛ. In x. 66, 2, the gods are said to be *Indraprasutaḥ*.

† The classical poets also describe the sun as all-seeing. See Æschylus, Prom. 91, Homer, Iliad, iii. 277; xiv. 344; Odyssey, viii. 270. Ovid, Metam. iv. 171 f., 196 f.

‡ Compare the expression of Hesiod, Opp. et Dies, 265 (quoted by M. Müller, Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 53).

§ In this verse he is said to be also the eye of Agni.

‖ In his note on this passage (viii. 78, 7) Sayaṇa relates a legend, that formerly the Paṇis had carried off the cows of the Angirases, and placed them on a mountain enveloped in darkness, when Indra, after being lauded by the Angirases, and supplicated to restore the cows, caused the sun to rise that he might see them.

have sprung from the eye of Purusha (x. 90, 13). He is also said to have been overcome by Indra (x. 43, 5 ; iv. 30, 6), who carried off one of the wheels of his chariot (i. 175, 4).*

Ushas is in one place said to be his wife (vii. 75, 5) ; while in another passage (vii. 78, 3) the Dawns are by a natural figure declared to produce him, and in a third passage to reveal him (vii. 80, 2).

The Atharva Veda contains a long hymn to Surya, xiii. 2.

The Mahabharata (iii. 166 ff.) has a hymn to the same god, in which he is styled the eye of the world, and the soul of all embodied beings (*v.* 166) ; and his divine chariot is referred to (*v.* 107).

Savitr.

The hymns which are devoted to the celebration of Savitr are the following : i. 35 ; ii. 38 ; iv. 53 ; iv. 54 ; v. 81 ; v. 82 ; vii. 38 ; vii. 45 ; vii. 63 : with many detached passages and verses, such as, i. 22, 5-8 ; iii. 56, 6, 7 ; iii. 62, 10-13, etc. etc.

The epithets, characteristics, and functions of this god, as described in Rig Veda, are as follows :

He is pre-eminently the golden deity, being *hiranyaksha* golden-eyed (i. 35, 8) ; *hiranya-pani*,† *hiranya-hasta*, golden-handed (i. 22, 5 ; i. 35, 9, 10 ; iii. 54, 11 ; vi. 50, 8 ; vi. 71, 4 ; vii. 38, 2) ; *hiranya-jihva*, golden-tongued (vi. 71, 3) ; *su-jihva*, beautiful-tongued (iii. 54, 11 ; vii. 45, 4) ; *mandra-jihva*, pleasant-tongued (vi. 71, 4). He invests himself with golden or tawny mail (*pisangam drapim*, iv. 53, 2) ; and assumes all forms (v. 81, 2). He is also *harikesa*, the yellow-haired (x. 139, 1). Luminous in his aspect, he ascends a golden car (i. 35, 2, 4, 5) drawn by radiant horses (*ib. vv.* 3, 5 ; and vii. 45, 1) ; and beholding all creatures, he pursues an upward and a downward path (i. 35, 2, 3). Surrounded by a golden lustre (iii. 31, 8 ; vii. 38, 1 ; vii. 45, 3), he illuminates the atmosphere and all the regions of the earth (i. 35, 7, 8 ; iv. 14, 2 ; iv. 53,

* See iv. 17, 14 : vi. 56, 3.

† See the tasteless explanations of this epithet given by the commentator and the Kaushitaki Brahmana, as mentioned in Rosen's and Wilson's notes on i. 22, 5 ; and see also Weber's Ind. Studien, ii. 306. The same epithet is given to Savitr in the Vaj. Sanhita, i. 16, where see the commentary. Savitr is also called *prthupani*, broad-handed (ii. 38, 2), and *supani*, beautiful-handed (iii. 33, 6 ; vii. 45, 4). Tvashtr, too, is called *supani* (iii. 54, 12), as are also Mitra and Varuna (iii. 56, 7).

4; v. 81, 2). His golden arms,* which he stretches out to infuse energy into all creatures, reach to the utmost ends of heaven (ii. 38, 2; iv. 53, 3, 4; vi. 71, 1, 5; vii. 45, 2). In one place, however, (vi. 71, 4), he is called *ayohanu*, the iron-jawed, though even there the commentator says that *ayas*, which ordinarily means iron, is to be rendered by gold. His ancient paths in the sky are said to be free from dust (i. 35, 11). He is called (like Varuṇa and others of the gods) *asura* a divine spirit (i. 35, 7, 10; iv. 53, 1). His will and independent authority cannot be resisted by Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, or by any other being (ii. 38, 7, 9; v. 82, 2). He observes fixed laws (iv. 53, 4; x. 34, 8; x. 139, 3). The other gods follow his course (v. 81, 3). The waters and the wind obey his ordinance (ii. 38, 2). His praises are celebrated by the Vasus, by Aditi, by the royal Varuṇa, by Mitra and by Aryaman (vii. 38, 3, 4). He is lord of desirable things (i. 24, 3), and sends blessings from the sky, from the atmosphere, and from the earth (ii. 38, 11). He impels the car of the Aśvins before the dawn (i. 34, 10). He is *prajapati*,† the lord of all creatures, the supporter of the sky and of the world (iv. 53, 2; iv. 54, 4; x. 149, 1, 4).‡ He measures the mundane regions (v. 81, 3). He bestows immortality on the gods (iv. 54, 2=Vaj. Sanh. xxxiii. 54) as he did on the *Ṛ*bhus (i. 110, 3).* He is supplicated to deliver his worshippers from sin (iv. 54, 3).

Savitṛ is sometimes called *apam napat*, son of the waters, an epithet which is more commonly applied to Agni.

The word Savitṛ is defined by Yaska (Nirukta x. 31) as meaning *sarvasya prasavita*, but he does not explain in what sense *prasavita* is to be taken. The root *su* or *sû* from which

* Indra, too, is called *hiranya-bahu*, golden-armed, vii. 34, 4. Agni is said to raise aloft his arms like Savitṛ, i. 95, 7. In vii. 79, 2, the Dawns are said to send forth light as Savitṛ stretches out his arms. In i. 190, 3, also the arms of Savitṛ are alluded to. In vii. 62, 5, Mitra and Varuṇa are supplicated to stretch out their arms.

† In the Taittiriya Brahmaṇa, i. 6, 4, 1 (p. 117), it is said, *Prajapatiḥ Savita bhutva praja asṛjata;* "Prajapati, becoming Savitṛ, created living beings." On the relation of Savitṛ and Prajapati see Weber, "Omina und Portenta," pp. 386, 392; and the passage of the Satapatha Brahmaṇa, xii. 3, 5, 1, where it is said that people are accustomed to identify Savitṛ with Prajapati, *Yo by eva Savita sa Prajapatir iti vadantaḥ*, etc. etc.

‡ It is not clear whether it is Savitṛ or the aerial ocean (*sunudra*) from which earth, atmosphere, and sky are said in x. 149, 2, to have sprung. See Orig. Sansk. Texts, iv. 96.

it is derived has three principal significations, (1) to generate or bring forth; (2) to pour forth a libation; and (3) to send or impel. When treating of the derivatives of this root as applied to Savitr, Sayana sometimes gives them the sense of sending or impelling, and sometimes of permitting or authorizing (*anujna*). In a few places he explains the root as meaning to beget. (Thus on i. 113, 1, he renders *prasuta* by *utpanna*, and *savah* by *utpatti*). The word *prasavitr*, as well as various other derivatives of the root *su*, are introduced in numerous passages of the Rig Veda relating to the god Savitr, with evident reference to the derivation of that name from the same root, and with a constant play upon the words,* such as is unexampled in the case of any other deity.

The following are some of the passages of the Rig Veda in which these derivatives occur:

i. 124, 1. "The god Savitr hath impelled or aroused (*prasavit*) our two-footed and four-footed property to go."

i. 157, 1. "The god Savitr has aroused (*prasavit*) each moving thing" (*jagat*: comp. i. 159, 3).

v. 81, 2 (=Vaj. Sanh. xii. 3). "The wise (Savitr) puts on (or, manifests) all forms. He hath sent (*prasavit*) prosperity to biped and quadruped. The eminent Savitr has illuminated the sky. He shines after the path of the dawn." 5. "Thou alone art the lord of vivifying power (*prasavasya*).

i. 159, 5. "That desirable wealth we today seek through the vivifying power (*prasave*) of the divine Savitr."

iii. 33, 6 (Nir. ii. 26). "The god Savitr hath led (us, *i.e.* the waters); by his propulsion (*prasave*) we flow on broadly."

ii. 38, 1. "The god Savitr hath arisen to impel (or vivify, *savaya*) us, he who continually so works, the supporter."

viii. 91, 6. "I invoke the sea-clothed Agni, as (I invoke) the vivifying power (*savam*†) of Savitr, and the enjoyments of Bhaga."

iii. 56, 6. "Thrice every day, O Savitr, send (*asuva*) us desirable things from the sky.....7. Thrice Savitr continues

* See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 76. I cannot say whether this feature in the hymns in question affords any sufficient ground for regarding them as artificial in character, and consequently as comparatively late in their origin. To form a judgment on this point, it would be necessary to compare them in other respects with the other hymns.

† In i. 164, 26, and ix. 67, 25, particularly in the latter passage, *sava* may mean a libation of soma.

to send down (these things to us) from the sky ; and so also do the fair-handed Mitra and Varuṇa. Even the waters, even the spacious heaven and earth, have solicited wealth to (call forth ?) the vivifying power (*savaya*) of Savitṛ."

iv. 53, 3. "Savitṛ hath stretched out his arms in his vivifying energy (*savimani**), stablishing and vivifying (*prasuvan*) all that moves, by his rays..... 6. May that god Savitṛ who bestows great happiness, the vivifier (*prasavita*), the stablisher, who is lord both of that which moves and of that which is stationary, bestow on us protection."

iv. 54, 3. "Whatever (offence) we have committed..... against gods or men, do thou, O Savitṛ, render (*suvatat*) us sinless."

v. 82, 3. "For he, Savitṛ, who is Bhaga, (or the adorable, *bhaga*), sends (*suvati*) wealth to his worshipper..... 5. Send (*savih*) to-day, O divine Savitṛ, prosperity with progeny : send away (*para suva*) sleeplessness (comp. x. 37, 4). 5. Send away (*para suva*), O divine Savitṛ, all calamities ; send (*asuva*) us what is good. 6. May we, being sinless to Aditi, through the influence (*sava*) of the divine Savitṛ, possess all things desirable. 7. We worship to-day, with hymns, Savitṛ, who possesses true energy (*satya-sava*†), the god of all (gods), the lord of the good."

vi. 71, 1. "The potent god Savitṛ hath stretched out his golden arms to vivify (or impart energy, *savanaya*)..... 2. May we abide (have a share ?) in the excellent vivifying power (*savimani* ; compare x. 36, 12) of the god Savitṛ, and in the bestowal of wealth by thee, who continuest to establish and vivify (*nivesane prasave cha*) the entire two-footed and four-footed world.....4. This god Savitṛ.....sends (*suvati*) to his worshipper many desirable things.... ....6. Send (*savih*) to us to-day, Savitṛ, what is desirable ; send it to us to-morrow, and every day."

vii. 38, 2. "Rise, Savitṛ,.....sending (*asuvana*) to men the food which is fit for mortals. 4. Whom (*i.e.* Savitṛ) the goddess Aditi praises, desiring the vivifying power (*savam*) of the divine Savitṛ."

vii. 40, 1. "May we partake in the distribution (of wealth) which the opulent god Savitṛ shall send (*suvati*) to-day."

* This word also occurs in Sáma Veda, i. 464.

† The same epithet is applied to him in x. 36, 13. It occurs also in the Sama Veda, i. 464.

vii. 45, 1. "May the god Savitv approach, rich in gems, filling the atmosphere, borne by horses, holding in his hand many gifts suitable for men, stablishing and vivifying (*prasuvan*) the world. 3. The powerful god Savitr, lord of wealth, hath sent (*savishat*) us riches."

x. 35, 7. "Send (*asuva*) us to-day, O god Savitr, a most excellent and desirable portion," etc.

x. 36, 4. "May Savitr send (*suvatu*) all prosperity," etc.

x. 64, 7. "For they (Vayu and Pushan), with one heart and one mind, seek after strength in the vivifying power (*savimani*) of the god Savitr."

x. 100, 8. "May Savitr remove (*apasavishat*) sickness."

x. 139, 1. "Invested with the solar rays, with yellow hair, Savitr raises aloft his light continually from the east. In his energy (*prasave*) the wise Pushan marches, beholding all worlds, a guardian."

The preceding passages will suffice to show the extent to which this play on words is carried in the hymns addressed to Savitr.

Derivatives from the same root are, as we have already seen, also applied to Sura, as *prasavita* and *prasutah*, in R.V. vii. 63, 2 and 4; and *apasuva* in x. 37, 4; to Indra (*haryasva-prasutah*, iii. 30, 12); to Varuna (*parasuva*, ii. 28, 9); and to Mitra, Aryaman, Savitr, and Bhaga (*suvati*, vii. 66, 4). In vii. 77, 1, Ushas (the Dawn) is said to incite (*prasuvanti*) all life to motion. In viii. 18, 1, the impulse, vivifying power, or favouring aid (*savimani*) of the Adityas is referred to.

Savitr is sometimes expressly distinguished from Surya. Thus he is said in i. 35,9, to approach or (according to Benfey's rendering) to bring the sun (Surya);* in i. 123, 3, to declare men sinless to the sun (Surya); and in v. 81, 4, to combine with the rays of the sun (Surya). In explanation of the last passage, Sayana remarks, that before his rising the sun is called Savitr, and at his rising and setting, Surya. And similarly Yaska says (Nirukta xii. 12) that "the time of Savitr's appearance is when darkness has been removed, and the rays of light have become diffused over the sky;" and in proof of this he

* Sayana remarks here that, though the godhead of Savitr and Surya is identical, they may yet, from their representing different forms, be spoken of as respectively approaching and approached.

† As in another place (x. 12, 8), he is supplicated, along with Mitra and Aditi, to declare the worshippers sinless to Varuna.

refers to v. 81, 2, quoted above. It is scarcely consistent with this explanation, however, that in vii. 66, 4, Savitr is said, along with Mitra (the god of the day), and Aryaman and Bhaga, to bestow blessings after the rising of the sun. Again, in x. 139, 1, Savitr is termed *surya-rasmi*, "invested with the rays of Surya;" and in vii. 35, 8 and 10, as well as x. 181, 1, the two gods are separately mentioned. In other texts, however, the two names appear to denote the same deity, as in i. 35, 7; i. 124, 1; iv. 14, 2; x. 158, 1-5; and vii. 66, 1-4 (where the functions expressed by the derivatives of the root *su*, which, as we have seen, are most generally assigned to Savitr, are predicated of Surya). In i. 157, 1, it is not very clear whether the two names are to be understood of one god, or of two,

In v. 81,4 and 5, Savitr is identified with Mitra and Pushan, or is, at least, described as fulfilling the proper function of those gods. And similarly in v. 82, 1, 3; and vii. 38, 1, 6 (unless *bhaga* is a simple epithet), Savitr is identified with the god of that name. On the other hand, he is clearly distinguished from these and other deities, in such texts as iii. 54, 11, 12; vi. 21, 9; vi. 49, 14; vi. 50, 1, 13; viii. 18, 3; viii. 91, 6; x. 139, 1.

The word Savitr is not always a proper name; but is sometimes used as an epithet. Thus in ii 30, 1, it seems to express an attribute of Indra; and in iii. 55, 19, and x. 10, 5, to be, as well as *visvarupa*, an epithet of Tvashtr.

X. Agni.

Agni is the god of fire, the Ignis of the Latins. He is one of the most prominent deities of the Rig Veda, as the hymn addressed to him far exceed in number those which are devoted to the celebration of any other divinity, with the sole exception of Indra. Agni is not, like the Greek Hephaistos, or the Latin Vulcan, the artificer of the gods (an office which, as we shall presently see, is in the Veda assigned to Tvashtr), but derives his principal importance from his connection with the ceremonial of sacrifice. He is an immortal (i. 44, 6; i. 58, 1; ii. 10, 1, 2; iii. 2, 11; iii. 3, 1; iii. 11, 2; iii. 27, 5, 7; vi. 9, 4; vii. 4, 4; x. 79, 1), who has taken up his abode among mortals as their guest (i. 44, 4; i. 58, 6; ii. 4, 1; iii. 2, 2; iv. 1, 20; v. 1, 8; v. 8, 2; v. 18, 1; vi. 2, 7; vi. 15, 1, 4; vii. 8, 4; viii. 73, 1; x. 1, 5; x. 91, 2). He is the domestic priest, *purohita*, *rtvik*, *hotr*, *brahman* (i. 1, 1, 3, 8; i. 12, 1; i. 13, 1, 4; i. 26, 7;

i. 36, 3, 5 ; i. 44, 1, 7, 9, 12; i. 45, 7 ; i. 58, 1, 6 ; i. 60, 4 ; i. 68, 4 ; i. 74, 6 ; i. 127, 1 ; i. 141, 1, 12 ; i. 149, 4, 5 ; i. 188, 3 ; ii. 5, 1 ; ii. 6, 6 ; ii. 9, 1 ; iii. 4, 1 ; iii. 7, 9 ; iii. 14, 1 ; iii. 19, 1 ; iii. 10, 2, 9 ; iii. 11, 1; iv. 1, 8 ; v. 11, 2 ; v. 26, 7 ; vi. 15, 4, 13 ; vi. 16, 6 ; vii. 7, 5 ; vii. 10, 2 ; vii. 11, 5 ; vii. 16, 5, 12 ; viii. 44, 6 ; viii. 49,1 ; ix. 66,20 ; x. 1,6), appointed both by men and gods, who performs in a higher sense all the various sacrificial offices which the Indian ritual assigned to a number of different functionaries (i. 94, 6 ; ii. 1, 2 ; ii. 5, 2, 3 ; iv. 1, 8 ; iv. 9, 3, 4 ; x. 2, 2; x. 91, 10). He is a sage, the divinest among sages (*asuro vipaschitam*, iii. 3, 4), intimately acquainted with all the forms of worship, the wise director, the successful accomplisher, and the protector, of all ceremonies (i. 1, 4 ; i. 31, 1 ; iii. 3, 3 ; iii. 21, 3 ; iii. 27,2,7,8 ; x. 91, 3, 8 ; vi. 14, 2 ; vii. 4, 4), who enables men to serve the gods in a correct and acceptable manner, in cases where this would be beyond their own unaided skill (x. 2, 3-5). He is the father, king, ruler, banner, or outward manifestation (*ketu*),* end superintendent, of sacrifices add religious duties (iii. 3, 3, 4 ; iii, 10, 4 ; iii. 11, 2 ; iv. 3, 1 ; vi. 2, 3 ; viii. 43, 24 ; x. 1, 5 ; x. 6, 3). He is also the religious leader or priest of the gods (x. 110, 11 ; x. 150, 4). He is a swift (*raghupatva*, x. 6, 4) messenger, moving between heaven and earth, appointed both by gods and by men to maintain their mutual communications, to announce to the gods the hymns, and to convey to them the oblations, of their worshippers (i. 12, 1, 2, 4, 8 ; i. 27, 45 ; i. 36, 3, 4, 5 ; i. 44, 2, 3, 5, 9, 12 ; i. 58, 1 ; i. 74, 4, 7 ; i. 188, 1 ; ii. 6, 6 ; ii. 9, 2 ; ii. 10, 6 ; iii. 5, 2, 11 ; iii. 6, 5 ; iii. 8, 6 ; iii. 9, 8 ; iii. 11, 2 ; iii. 17, 4 ; iii. 21, 1, 5 ; iv. 1, 8 ; iv. 2, 3 ; iv. 7, 8 ; iv. 8, 2, 4 ; v. 8, 6 ; v. 21, 3 ; vi. 15, 8-10 ; vii. 11, 4 ; vii. 16, 4 ; vii. 17, 6 ; viii. 19, 21 ; viii. 23, 18, 19 ; viii. 39, 1, 9 ; viii. 44, 3 ; x. 4, 2 ; x. 46, 10 ; x. 91, 11 ; x. 122, 7). Being acquainted with the innermost recesses of the sky (iv. 8, 2, 4), he is well fitted to summon the gods to the sacrifices ; and he comes with them seated on the same car (iii. 4, 11 ; vii. 11, 1), or in advance of them (x. 70, 2). He brings Varuna to the ceremony, Indra from the sky, the Maruts from the air (x. 70, 11). Without him the gods experience no satisfaction (vii. 11, 1). He himself

* His father begot him (*janita tva jajana*) to be the revelation and brilliant banner of all sacrifices. With the phrase, *janita tva jajana*, compare the expressions in x. 20, 9, also relating to Agni, and in iv. 17, 4, relating to Indra.

offers them worship (vii. 11, 3 ; viii. 91, 16 ; x. 7, 6). He is the mouth and tongue through which both gods and men taste the sacrifices (ii. 1, 13, 14). He is elsewhere asked to eat the offerings himself (iii. 21, 1 ff, ; iii. 28, 2 6), and invited to drink the soma-juice (i. 14, 10 ; i. 19, 9 ; i. 21, 1, 3).

The 51st hymn of the tenth book contains a dialogue between Agni and the other gods, in which they give utterance to there desire that he would come forth from his concealment, and try to persuade him to appear and convey to them the customary oblations. After he has expressed some timid apprehension (*vv.* 4, 6), he is induced (as it would seem) by the promise of long life and a share in the sacrifice to accede to their request. In the next following hymn (the 52nd) Agni proclaims himself the master of the ceremonies, declares himself ready to obey the commands of the gods, and asks how and by what path he can bring them the oblations. Agni is the lord, protector, and leader of the people, *vispati, visam gopa, visam pura eta* (i. 12, 2 ; i 26, 7 ; i. 31, 11 ; i. 96, 4 ; ii. 1, 8 ; iii. 11, 5 ; the king or monarch, or king of men (i. 59, 5 ; ii. 1, 8 ; iii. 10, 1 ; v. 4, 1 ; vi. 7, 1 ; vii. 8, 1 ; viii. 43, 24). He is also the lord of the house, *grhapati*, dwelling in every abode (i. 12, 6 ; i. 36, 5 ; i. 60, 4 ; v. 8, 2 ; vii 15, 2 ; x. 91, 2). He is a father, mother, brother, son, kinsman, and friend (i. 26, 3 ; i. 31, 10, 14, 16 ; i. 75, 4 ; ii. 1, 9 ; vi. 1, 5 ; viii. 43, 16 ; viii. 64, 16 ; x. 7, 3) ; and some worshippers claim with him a hereditary friendship (i. 71, 10). He drives away and destroys Rakshases or demons (iii. 15, 1 ; vii. 13, 1 ; vii. 15, 10 ; viii. 23, 13 ; viii. 43, 26 ; x. 87, 1 ; x. 187, 3). In hymns x 87, he is invoked to protect the sacrifice (*v.* 9), and to consume the Rakshases and Yatudhanas by the most terrible manifestations of his fury (*passim*).

Various, though not necessarily inconsistent, accounts are given in the hymns of the birth of Agni. Sometimes a divine origin is ascribed to him, while at other times his production, or at least his manifestation, is ascribed to the use of the ordinary human appliances. Thus he is said to have been brought from the sky by Matarisvan* (i. 60, 1 ; i. 93, 6 ; i. 143, 2 ; i. 148, 1 ; iii. 2, 13 ; iii. 5, 10 ; iii. 9, 5 ; vi. 8, 4), to have been generated by Indra between two clouds (ii. 12, 3) ; to have been generated by the sky (x. 45, 8), to be the son of heaven and earth (iii. 2, 2 ; iii. 25, 1 ; x. 1, 2, 7 ; x. 2, 7 ; x. 140, 1),

* See my article on Manu in vol. xx. of this Journal, p. 416, note. In one place (vii. 15, 4), he is called the falcon of the sky *(divah syenaya)*.

whom he magnified on [or by] his birth (iii. 3, 11). His production is also said to be due to the waters (x. 2, 7 ; x. 91, 6), and to Tvash*tr* (i. 95, 2 ; x. 2, 7). He is elsewhere said to have been generated by the gods (vi. 7, 1 ; viii. 91, 17), as a light to the Arya (i. 59, 2), or placed by the gods among the tribes of Manu (i. 36, 10 ; ii. 4, 3 ; vi. 16, 1 ; viii. 73, 2). Yet although the son, he is also the father of the gods (i. 69, 1). In viii. 19, 33, his superiority to other fires is shewn by their being declared to be parts of him.

In other passages, however, as in iii. 29, 1 ff., the process of friction, by which the god is daily generated by his worshippers, is described (compare i. 44, 7 ; i. 68, 2 ; iii. 23, 2-4 ; vii. 1, 1 ; viii. 49, 15). He is produced from two sticks* as an infant (v. 9, 3 ; viii. 23, 25) Strange to say, the child immediately begins, with unnatural voracity, to consume his parents, and is altogether beyond his mortal worshipper's comprehension (x. 79, 5). Like the wriggling brood of a serpent, however, he is sometimes difficult to catch (v. 9, 4). Wonderful is his growth, seeing that he is born of a mother who cannot suckle him (x. 115, 1) ; but he is nourished and increased by oblations of clarified butter (iii. 21, 1 ff. ; v. 11, 3 ; v. 14, 6 ; viii. 39, 3 ; viii. 43, 10, 22 ; viii. 44, 1 ; viii. 63, 2 ; x. 118, 4, 6. He himself is made by the poet to say "butter is my eye" (iii. 26, 7). His epithets are various, and for the most part descriptive of his physical charateristics. He is *ghrtannah*, butter-fed (vii. 3, 1 ; x. 69, 2) ; *ghrta-nirnik*, butter-formed (iii. 17, 1 ; iii. 27, 5 ; x. 122, 2) ; *ghrtu-kesa*, butter haired (viii. 49, 2) ; *ghrta-prshtha*, butter-backed (v. 4, 3 ; v. 37, 1 ; vii. 2, 4 ; x. 122, 4) ; *ghrtapratika*, gleaming with butter (iii. 1,8 ; v. 11, 1 ; x. 21, 7); *ghrta-yoni*, issuing from butter (v. 8, 6) ; *dhuma-ketu*, smoke-bannered (i. 27, 11 ; i. 44, 3 ; i. 94, 10 ; v. 11, 3 ; viii. 43, 4 ;

* Hence, perhaps, it is that he is called *dvi-mata*, born of two parents (i. 31, 2, 5) ; and *dvi-janma*, having a double birth (i. 60, 1 ; i. 149, 4, 5). He is, however, also called *bhurijanma*, having many births (x. 5, 2). In R. V. i. 95, 2, he is said to be produced by the ten young women, *i.e.* the ten fingers. See Roth, Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 120 ; Benfey's Orient und Occident, ii. 510 ; and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* Tvash*tr*.

In regard to the persons or families by whom the sacrificial fire is supposed to have been first kindled, and the rites of Aryan worship introduced, viz., Manu, Angiras, Bhrgu, Atharvan, Dadhyaneh, etc., see my paper on "Manu, the progenitor of the Aryan Indians," in vol. xx. of this Journal, pp. 410-416. In viii. 23, 17, Kavya Usanas is said to have established Agni to perform invocations on behalf of men.

viii. 44, 10; x. 4, 5; x. 12, 2); he sends up his smoke like a pillar to the sky (iv. 6, 2; vii. 2, 1; vii. 3, 3; vii. 16, 3); his smoke is waving, his flame cannot be seized (viii. 23, 1); he is driven by the wind (i. 58, 4, 5; i. 65, 8). He is a destroyer of darkness (i. 140, 1), and sees through the gloom of the night (i. 94, 7). The world which had been swallowed up and enveloped in darkness, and the heavens, are manifested at his apearance, and the gods, the sky, the earth, the waters, the plants rejoice in his friendship (x. 88, 2). He is *chitra-bhanu, chitra-sochih*, of varied lustre or blaze (i. 27, 6; ii. 10, 2; v. 26, 2; vi. 10, 3; vii. 9, 3; vii. 12, 1; viii. 19, 2), *vrdhva-sochis*, upward-flaming (vi. 15, 2), *sukra-sochih*, bright-flaming (vii. 15, 10; viii. 23, 20), *pavaka-sochis*, with purifying flames (viii. 43, 31), *sukra-varna, suchi-varna*, bright coloured (i. 140, 1; v. 2, 3), *sochish-kesa*, with blazing hair (i. 45, 6; iii. 14, 1; iii. 17, 1; iii. 27, 4; v. 8, 2), *hari-kesa*, with tawny hair (iii. 2, 13), golden-formed (iv. 3, 1; x. 20, 9; *hiranya-rupam janita jajana*,), and *hiri-smasru*, with golden beard (v. 7, 7). He carries sharp weapons (iv. 4, 4; iv. 5, 3), he has sharp teeth (i. 79, 6; i. 143, 5; iv. 5, 4; iv. 15, 5; viii. 19, 22), burning teeth (i. 58, 4; viii. 23, 4), brilliant teeth (v. 7, 7), golden teeth (v. 2, 3), iron grinders (x. 87, 2), and sharp and consuming jaws (viii. 49, 13; x. 79, 1). According to one passage, he is footless, and headless (iv. 1, 12); and yet he is elsewhere said to have a burning head (vii. 3, 1), three heads and seven rays (i. 146, 1; ii. 5, 2), to be four-eyed (i. 31, 13), thousand-eyed (i. 79, 12), and thousand-horned (v. 1, 8).* He is *krshnadhvan, krshna-varttani, krshna-pavi, i.e.* his path and his wheels are marked by blackness (ii. 4, 6; vi. 10, 4; vii. 8, 1; vii. 23, 19; he envelopes the woods, consumes and blackens them with his tongue (vi. 60, 10; x. 79, 2); he is all-devouring (viii. 44, 26); driven by the wind, he invades the forests, and shears the hairs of the earth (i. 65, 4), like a barber shaving a beard (x. 142, 4). He causes terror, like an army let loose (i. 66, 8; i. 143, 5). His flames roar like the waves of the sea (i. 44, 12; compare i. 58, 4). He sounds like thunder (vii. 3, 6; x. 45, 4), and roars like the wind (viii. 91, 5), like the Maruts (i. 143, 5),

* In one place (viii. 19, 32) Agni is called *sahasra-mushka*, which the commentator explains by *bahu-tejaska*, having many flames. The same epithet is, in R. V. vi. 46, 3, applied to Indra, where Sayana makes it equivalent to *sahasra-sepha*, mille membra genitalia habens; and quotes, in proof of this sense, a passage from the Kaushitaki Brahmana.

like a lion (iii. 2, 11), and like a bull, and the birds are terrified at his ravages (i. 94, 4, 5). He has a hundred manifestations (*satatmā*), and shines like the sun (i. 149, 4 ; vii. 3, 6). He is compared to the lightning (i. 143, 5 ; x. 91, 5), and is borne on a chariot of lightning (iii. 14, 1). His car is luminous* (i. 140, 1 ; i. 141, 12 ; iii. 3, 5 ; compare v. 1, 11), variegated (x. 1, 5), golden (iv. 1, 8), beautiful (iii. 3, 9 ; iv. 2, 4). This car is drawn by swift, beautiful, ruddy, tawny, or omniform horses (i. 14, 6, 12 ; i. 45, 2 ; i. 94, 10 ; i. 141, 12 ; ii. 4, 2 ; ii. 8, 1 ; ii. 10, 2 ; iv. 1, 8 ; iv. 2, 2, 4 ; iv. 6, 9 ; vi. 16, 43 ; vii. 16, 2 ; viii. 43, 16 ; x. 7, 4 ; x. 70, 2 f.), which he yokes in order to summon the gods (i. 14, 12 ; iii. 6, 6, 9 ; viii. 64, 1).

In some parts of the Rig Veda Agni is regarded as having a triple existence, as the sun in heaven, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as ordinary fire on the earth or in the waters.† Thus he is called *trisadhasthah*, dwelling in the three spheres (v. 4, 8, comp. x. 56, 1), *arkas tridhatuh*, a triple light (iii. 36, 7), and *tripastyah*, having three abodes (viii. 39, 8). He is said to occupy the three luminaries and all the worlds (i. 149, 4), to have three births, one in the sea‡ (*samudre*), one in the heaven (*divi*), and one in the waters or atmosphere (*apsu*, i. 95, 3). In another place (viii. 43, 28) he is only spoken of as born in the sky and in the waters or atmosphere (*divija asi apsuja*), and similarly in ii. 9, 3 (compare viii. 39, 8), he is said to have an upper and a lower sphere. In x. 91, 6, it is said that the waters, the mothers, generated Agni (compare iii. 1, 3 ; iii. 9, 4). In x. 88, 10, we are told that "the gods through their power created with a hymn Agni who fills the worlds ; they formed him to have a threefold‖ existence" (comp. x. 45, 1, 2). In one of the preceding verses (x. 88, 6) it is said that "Agni is at night the head of the earth ; and from him springs the sun rising in the morning," *i.e.* as Yaska says, the sun is iden-

* *Chandra-ratha* and *jyotiratha*. The latter epithet is also applied to all the gods (x. 63, 4).

† Compare Nirukta vii. 5, and xii. 19, with the comment of Durga on the latter passage, quoted in "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iv. pp. 55-57.

‡ In R. V. viii. 91, 4 (=Sama Veda i. 18), Agni is called *samudra-vasas*, "clothed with, or enveloped by, the ocean."

‖ This triple existence is according to Sakapuni, as quoted by Yaska (Nir. vii. 28), that which Agni has on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven. The gods are said in the same hymn (x. 88, 7) to have thrown into Agni an oblation accompanied by a hymn, and in *v.* 9, this oblation is said to have consisted of all creatures or all worlds (*bhuvanani visva*).

tical with him. In a following verse (x. 88, 11) the gods are declared to have placed Agni in the sky as *Surya, Aditeya*, the Sun, the offspring of Aditi. In x. 80, 4, Agni is said to have many abodes.

The highest divine functions are ascribed to Agni. He is called the divine king, and declared to be strong as Indra (vii. 6, 1). Although (as we have seen above) he is described in some passages as the offspring of heaven and earth, he is said in other places to have stretched them out (iii. 6, 5); to have spread out the two worlds like two skins (vi. 8, 3); to have produced them (i. 96, 4; vii. 5, 6); to have propped up the sky (i. 67, 3; iii. 5, 10; vi. 8, 3); to have measured out the mundane regions and the luminaries of heaven (vi. 7, 7; vi. 8, 2); to have begotten Mitra (x. 8, 4), and caused the sun, the imperishable orb, to ascend the sky (x. 156, 4); to have made all that flies, or walks, or stands, or moves (x. 88, 4).* He is the head (*murddha*) and summit of the sky, the centre (*nabhi*) of the earth (i. 59, 2; comp. verse 1; vi. 7, 1; viii. 44, 16; x. 88, 5). His greatness exceeds that of heaven and all the worlds (i. 59, 5; iii. 3, 10; iii. 2, 7; iii. 6, 2).† He has achieved famous exploits of old (vii. 6, 2). Men tremble at his mighty deeds, and his ordinances cannot be resisted (ii. 8, 3; ii. 9, 1; vi. 7, 5; viii. 44, 25; viii. 92, 3). Earth and heaven obey his command (vii. 5, 4). He gained wealth for the gods in battle (i. 59, 5); and delivered them‡ from calamity (vii. 13, 2). He is the conqueror of thousands (i. 188, 1). All the gods fear and do homage to him when he abides in darkness (vi. 9, 7). He is celebrated and worshipped by Varuṇa, Mitra, the Maruts, and all the 3339 gods (iii. 9, 9; iii. 14, 4; x. 99, 9). It is through him that Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman (i. 141, 9) triumph. He sees all worlds (x. 187, 4). He knows the recesses of heaven (iv. 8, 2, 4), the races of gods and men (i. 70, 2, 6; iii. 4, 11; vi. 15, 13), the secrets of mortals (viii. 39, 6),

* This half verse is quoted in Nirukta, v. 3. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, explains the words by saying that Agni subjects all things to himself at the time of the mundane dissolution.

† Epithets of this description may have been originally applied to some other god to whom they were more suitable than to Agni, and subsequently transferred to him by his worshippers in emulation of the praises lavished on other deities.

‡ Unless we are to take *devan* here in the sense of priests.

and all things (i. 188, 1). He is *asura*, the divine (iv. 2, 5; v. 12, 1; v. 15, 1; v. 27. 1; vii. 2, 3; vii. 6, 1; x. 11, 6).

The votaries of Agni prosper (vi. 2, 4, 5; vi. 5, 5, vi. 10, 3; vi. 13, 4; vi. 15, 11; vii. 11, 2; viii. 19, 5, 6; viii. 73, 9). He is the friend of the man who entertains him as a guest (iv. 4, 10), and bestows protection and wealth upon the worshipper who sweats to bring him fuel, or wearies his head to serve him. He watches with a thousand eyes over the man who brings him food and oblations (x 79, 5). He bestows children (v. 25, 5), wealth (i. 1, 3; i. 31, 10, 12; i. 36, 4), and victory (i. 27, 7, 8). No mortal enemy can by any craft lord it over the man who sacrifies to him (viii. 23, 15). He also confers, and is the guardian and lord of, immortality (i. 31, 7; vi. 7, 4; vi. 7, 7; vii. 4, 6). He was made by the gods the centre of immortality (*amrtasya nabhih*, iii. 17, 4). In a funeral hymn (x. 16, 4) Agni is supplicated to carry the unborn part of the deceased to the world of the righteous. He carries men accross calamities or preserves them from them (iii. 20, 4; v. 4, 9; vii 12, 2). All treasures are congregated in him (x. 6, 6). All blessings proceed from him, as branches from a tree (vi. 13, 1). He is master of all the treasures in the earth, the atmosphere and the sky (vii. 6, 7; x. 91, 3). He is in consequence continually supplicated for various boons (iv. 2, 4 ff.; i. 18, 9; i. 36, 14-16; i. 58, 8, 9; ii. 7, 2, 3; vi. 1, 12 f.), to be an iron wall with a hundred ramparts to protect his worshippers (vi. 48, 8; vii. 3, 7; vii. 15, 14); to consume their enemies (iv. 4, 3 ff.); and to forgive sin (iv. 12, 4; vi. 93, 7), to avert Varuṇa's wrath (iv. 1, 4, 5), and to release from (his?) bonds (v. 2, 7).

In one place (viii. 44, 23), the worshipper naively says to Agni: "If I were thou, and thou wert I, thy aspirations should be fulfilled;" and again, viii. 19, 25 f.: "If, Agni, thou wert a mortal, and I am immortal, ... I would not abandon thee to wrong or to penury. *My* worshipper should not be poor, nor distressed, nor miserable." (Compare the similar appeal to Indra's generosity in (vii. 32, 18, 19.)

In another place (x. 79, 6) the worshipper asks "why hast thou among (all) the gods forsaken and injured us? I ask thee in my ignorance."

Agni is occasionally identified with other gods and different goddesses, Indra, Vishṇu, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Aṇsa, Tvashṭr, Rudra, Pushan, Savitṛ, Bhaga, Aditi, Hotra, Bharati, Iḷa, Sarasvati (ii. 1, 3-7, and 11; iii. 5, 4; v. 3, 1; vii. 12, 3;

x. 8, 5).* All gods are comprehended in him (v. 3, 1); he surrounds them as a circumference of a wheel does the spokes (i. 141, 9; v. 13, 6). Varuṇa is in one place (iv. 1, 2) spoken of as his brother.

Agni is associated with Indra in different hymns, as i. 108 and 109; iii. 12, 1 ff.; vi. 59 and 60; vii. 93 and 94; viii. 38 and 40. The two gods are said to be twin brothers, having the same father, and having their mothers here and there† (vi. 59, 2), to be both thunderers, slayers of Vṛttra, and shakers of cities (iii. 12, 4, 6; vi. 59, 3; vi. 60, 3; vii. 93, 1, 4; viii. 38, 2). They are also invited together to come and drink soma (vii. 93, 6; viii. 38, 4, 7-9), and are together invoked for help (vii. 94, 7). Agni is elsewhere said to exercise alone the function usually assigned to Indra, and to slay Vṛttra and destroy cities (i. 59, 6; i. 78, 4; iii. 20, 4; vi. 16, 14, 39, 48; vii. 5, 3; vii. 6, 2). He is also described as driving away the Dasyus from the house, thus creating a large light for the Arya (vii. 5, 6),‡ as the promoter of the Arya (viii. 92, 1), and as the vanquisher of the irreligious Paṇis (vii. 6, 3),—though it is Indra who is most frequently represented in the hymns as the patron and helper of the sacred race, and the destroyer of their enemies. On the other hand, in viii. 38, 1, where the two gods are called two priests (*ṛtvija*), Indra is made to share in the character peculiar to Agni. In hymn i. 93, Agni and Soma are celebrated in company.

XI. Tvashtr.

Tvash*tr*, as represented in the Rig Veda, is the Indian Vulcan, the artist *par excellence* (compare Nirukta, viii. 13), the divine artizan, the most skilful of workmen, who is versed in all magical devices (x. 53, 9). He forges the thunderbolts of Indra‖ (i. 32, 2; i. 52, 7; i. 61, 6; i. 85, 9; v. 31, 4; vi.

* Another verse where Agni is identified with other gods is of a more pantheistic character, viz., i. 164, 46, "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni; then there is that celestial well-winged bird. Sages name variously that which is but one; they call it Agni, Yama, Mataṛisvan."

† The sense of the word *ihehamatara* is not clear. Sayaṇa says it means that their mother Aditi is here and there, *i.e.* everywhere. Roth, *s.v.*, understands it to mean that the mother of the one is here, of the other there, *i.e.* in different places.

‡ In i. 59, 2, the gods are said to have produced him as a light to the Arya.

‖ In i. 121, 3, Indra (?) is said to fashion his own thunderbolts.

17, 10; x. 48, 3), which are described as formed of gold (i. 85, 9), or of iron (x. 48, 3), with a thousand points and a hundred edges (i. 85, 9; vi. 17, 10). He is styled *supani sugabhasti*, the skilful-handed (iii. 54, 12; vi. 49, 9), *svapas*, *sukrt*, the skilful worker (i. 85, 9), *visvarupa*,* the creator of all forms (i. 13, 10; iii. 55, 19; x. 10, 5), and *savitr*, the vivifier (iii. 55, 19;† x. 10, 5). He is the bestower of generative power and of offspring (i. 142, 10; iii. 4, 9; vii. 2, 9; vii. 34, 20; compare Vajasaneyi Sanhita, xxi. 20; xxii. 20; xxvii).‡ He forms husband and wife for each other even from the womb (x. 10, 5; A.V. vi. 78, 3). He transforms the seminal germ in the womb, and is the shaper of all forms human and animal (R.V. i. 188,9; viii. 91, 8; x. 184, 1; A.V. ii. 26, 1; v. 26, 8; ix. 4, 6; Vajasaneyi Sanhita, xxxi. 17; Taittirya Sanhita, i. 4, 2, 1; Satapatha Brahmana, ii. 2, 3, 4; iii. 7, 3, 11; xiii. 1, 8, 7). He has produced and nourishes a great variety of creatures; all words are his, and are known to him, for he has created them, and has given to the heaven and the earth their forms (iii. 55, 19; iv. 42, 3; x. 110, 9; Vaj. Sanh. xxix. 9). He bestows long life (x. 18, 6; A.V. vi. 78, 3). He puts speed into the feet of a horse (V.S. ix. 9). He created Brhaspati (ii. 23, 17), and is said, along with other deities, Heaven and Earth, the Waters, etc., to have produced Agni (i. 95, 2; x. 2, 7; x. 46, 9). (And yet, in common with other gods, he is said, in x. 125, 2, to be sustained by the goddess Vach). He is master of the universe (*bhuvanasya sakshanih*, ii. 31, 4), a first-born protector and leader (i. 13, 10; ix. 5, 9). He is called *vibhu*, the pervading, and knows the paths of the gods (x. 70, 9). He is supplicated to nourish the worshipper, and protect his sacrifice. He is *dravinodas*, the giver of wealth (x. 70, 9; x. 92, 11); and is asked, like the other gods, to bestow riches and protection (vii. 34, 22).

Tvashtr is in several passages connected with the Rbhus, who like him, are celebrated as skilful workmen (see Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.*), who fashioned Indra's chariots and horses, etc. etc. (i. 111, 1; i. 161, 3), and are spoken of by Sayana (on i. 20, 6) as Tvashtr's pupils. These Rbhus are said to have made

* In iii. 38, 4, Indra also is called *visvarupa*.

† Quoted in Nirukta, x. 34. See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 144.

‡ In A. V. vi. 81, 3, Tvashtr is said to have bound the amulet which Aditi wore when she was desirous of offspring, on the arm of a female in order that she might bear a son.

into four a single new sacrificial cup which Tvash*tr* had formed (i. 20, 6 ; i. 110, 3). This exhibition of skill is said to have been performed by command of the gods, and in consequence of a promise that its accomplishment should be rewarded by their exaltation to divine honours (i. 161, 1-5). Tvash*tr* is in this passage represented as resenting this alteration of his own work as a slight to himself, and as having in consequence sought to slay his rivals. In another place (iv. 33, 5, 6), on the contrary, he is said to have applauded their design, and admired the brilliant results of their skill.

In ii. 1, 5, Agni is identified with Tvash*tr*, as he is also, however, with many other gods in other verses of the same hymn. In i. 95, 5, Agni appears to be designated by the word Tvash*tr*. In vi. 47, 19, where Tvash*tr* is spoken of as yoking his horses and shining resplendently, the commentator supposes that Indra is referred to.*

In x. 17, 1 f. Tvash*tr* is said to have given his daughter Sara*n*yu in marriage to Viva*s*vat: "Tvash*tr* makes a wedding for his daughter. (Hearing) this the whole world assembles. The mother of Yama, the wedded wife of the great Viva*s*vat, disappeared. 2. They concealed the immortal (bride) from mortals. Making (another) of like appearance (*savarnam*), they gave her to Viva*s*vat. Sara*n*yu bore the two A*s*vins, and when she had done so, she deserted the two twins." These two verses are quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 10 f., where the following illustrative story is told: "Sara*n*yu, the daughter of Tvash*tr*, bore twins to Viva*s*vat the sun. She then substituted for herself another female of similar appearance (*savarnam*), and fled in the form of a mare. Viva*s*vat in like manner assumed the shape of a horse, and followed her. From their intercourse sprang the two A*s*vins, while Manu was the offspring of *Savarna* (or the female of like appearance)." "See Roth's interpretation of R. V. x. 17, 1 ff. and remarks thereon, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 424 f.; and the same writer's translation, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 161, of a passage of the B*r*haddevata, given by Sayana on R. V. vii. 72, 2, relating the same story about Vivasvat and Sara*n*yu which is given in the Nirukta).

* On the obscure passage, i. 84, 15, where the name of Tvash*tr* is mentioned Wilson's translation and note, Roth's explanation in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 49, Benfey's remarks in his "Orient und Occident," ii. 245 f., may be consulted.

In R.V. viii. 26, 21 f. Vayu also is spoken of as Tvash*tr*'s son-in-law. Whether Vayu's wife was different from Sara*n*yu, or whether there is a discrepancy between this story and the one just referred to about Viva*s*vat, does not appear.

Tvash*tr* is represented as having for his most frequent attendants the wives of the gods (i. 22, 9 ; ii. 31, 4; ii. 36, 3 ; vi. 50, 13 ; vii. 35, 6 ; x. 64, 10 ; x. 66, 3).

In x. 49, 10, he is spoken of as if he were a deity of some importance, though inferior to Indra, since the latter is said to perform what even the gods and Tvash*tr* could not do.

Indra is occasienally represented as in a state of hostility with Tvash*tr* and his son.* Thus in iii. 48, 4, it is said that Indra overcame him, and carried of his soma-juice, which he drank from the cups ; and in iv. 18, 3, that the same god drank off the soma in his house. In explanation of these allusions, the commentator (who in his note on iii. 48, 4, calls Tvash*tr* an Asura) refers to the Taittiriya Sanhita, ii. 4, 12, 1, where it is related that Tvash*tr*, whose son had been slain by Indra, began to perform a soma-sacrifice in the absence of the latter, and refused, on the gronnd of his homicide, to allow him to assist at the ceremony ; when Indra interrupted the celebration, and drank off the soma by force (compare Satapatha Brahma*n*a, i. 6, 3, 6 ff. ; v. 5, 4, 7 ff. ; xii. 7, 1, 1 ; xii. 8, 3, 1 ff).

The son of Tvash*tr* is mentioned in the several passages of the Rig Veda. Thus in x. 8, 8, it is said : "This Trita Aptya, knowing his paternal weapons, and impelled by Indra, fought against the three-headed and seven rayed (monster), and slaying him, he carried off the cows even of the son of Tvash*tr*. 9. Indra, the lord of the good, pierced this arrogant being, who boasted of his great force ; seizing the cows, he struck off the three heads even of Visvarupa the son of Tvash*tr* (or of the omniform son of Tvash*tr*)." (Compare ii. 11, 19 ; x. 76, 3). A loud-shouting monster with three heads and six eyes, perhaps identical with the son of Tvash*tr*, is also mentioned in x. 99, 6, as having been overcome by Indra or Trita.

Visvarupa is frequently mentioned in the later works.

According to the Taittiriya Sanhita, ii. 5, 1, 1 ff., he was the priest (*purohita*) of the gods, while he was sister's son (no

* In i. 80, 4, it is said that even Tvash*tr* trembles at Indra's wrath when he thunders. But this trait is merely introduced to indicate the terrific grandeur of Indra's manifestations. In Vaj. Sanh. xx. 44, Tvash*tr* is said to have imparted vigour to Indra.

further genealogy is given) of the Asuras. He had three heads, called respectively the soma-drinker, the wine-drinker, and the food-eater. He declared in public that the sacrifices should be shared by the gods only, while he privately recommended that they should be offered to the Asuras. For, as the author of the Brahmana remarks, it is customary for people in public to promise every one a share, whereas it is only those to whom the promise is privately made who obtain its fulfilment. Indra was alarmed lest his dominion should by this procedure of Visvarupa be overturned, and he accordingly smote off his heads with a thunderbolt. The three heads were turned into birds, the one called Soma-drinker, became a Kapinjala (or Francoline partridge), the Wine-drinker a Kalavinka (or sparrow), and the Food-eater a Tittiri (or partridge), etc.

Compare the Satapatha Brahmana, i. 6, 3, 1 ff.; v. 5, 4, 2 ff.; and the Mahabharata, Udyoga Parva, 228 ff.

In the Markandeya Purana, section 77, Tvashtr is identified with Visvakarman and Prajapati. Compare verses 1, 10, 15, 16, 34, 36, 38, and 41. Weber (Omina und Portenta, p. 391 f.) refers to a passage of the Adbhutadhyaya of the Kausika Sutras, where Tvashtr is identified with Savitr and Prajapati.

XII. Soma.

Soma is the god who represents and animates the juice of the soma plant, an intoxicating draught which plays an important part in the sacrifices of the Vedic age. He is, or rather was, the Indian Bacchus. Not only are the whole of the hymns in the ninth book of the Rig Veda, one hundred and fourteen in number, besides a few in other places, dedicated to his honour, but constant references to the juice of the soma occur in a large proportion of the other hymns. It is clear therefore, as remarked by Professor Whitney (Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Society, iii. 292), that his worship must at one time have attained a remarkable popularity. This circumstance is thus explained by the writer to whom I have referred: "The simple-minded Arian people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine: it

was, to their apprehension, a god, endowing those into whom it entered with godlike powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefor were sacred. The high antiquity of this cultus is attested by the references to it found occurring in the Persian Avesta;* it seems, however, to have received a new impulse on Indian territory."

Dr. Haug, in his work on the Aitareya Brahmana (Introd. p. 60), thus writes of the soma srcrifice: "Being thus," (*i.e.* through the oblation of an animal) "received among the gods, the sacrificer is deemed worthy to enjoy the divine beverage, the soma, and participate in the heavenly king, who is Soma. The drinking of the soma-juice makes him a new man; though a new celestial body had been prepared for him at the Pravargya ceremony, the enjoyment of the soma beverage transforms him again; for the nectar of the gods flows for the first time in his veins, purifying and sanctifying him."

With the decline of the Vedic worship, however, and the introduction of new deities and new ceremonies, the popularity of Soma gradually decreased, and has long since passed away; and his name is now familiar to those few Brahmans only who still maintain in a few places the early Vedic observances.

The hymns addressed to Soma were intended to be sung while the juice of the plant from which he takes his name (the *asclepias acida* or *sarcostemma viminale*) was being pressed out and purified.† They describe enthusiastically the following forth and filtration of the divine juice, and the effects produced on the worshippers, and supposed to be produced on the gods, by partaking of the beverage. Thus the first verse of the first hymn of the ninth book runs thus: "O soma, poured out for Indra to drink, flow on purely in a most sweet and exhilarating current." In vi. 47, 1, 2, the juice is described as sweet, honied, sharp, well-flavoured. When quaffed, it stimulates the voice, and calls forth ardent conceptions (ibid.

* See Dr. Windischmann's Essay on the Soma-worship of the Arians, or the translated extracts from it in Sanskrit Texts, vol. ii. p. 469 ff.; and the extract there given, p. 474, from Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. 46, in which the *soma*, or as it is in Zend, *haoma*, appears to be referred to under the appellation *omomi*. See also on the fact of the soma rite of the Indians being originally identical with the haoma ceremony of the Zoroastrians, Haug's Aitareya Brahmana, Introd., p. 62.

† See the process as described by Windischmann, after Dr. Stevenson, in Sanskrit Texts, ii. 470.

v. 3). In a verse (viii. 48, 3) already quoted above, in the account of Indra, the worshippers exclaim: "We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us, or what can the malice of any mortal effect, O thou immortal god?" No one can withstand Indra in battle when he has drunk this libation and become exhilarated by it (vi. 47, 1, 2).

The plant is said to have been brought to the earth by a falcon (iii. 43, 7; iv. 26, 4, 5, 7; iv. 27, 3, 4) from a mountain (i. 93, 6) where it had been planted by Varuṇa (v. 85, 2), or from the uppermost sky (iv. 26, 6). In another place (ix. 113, 3) it is declared to have been brought by the daughter of the Sun from the place where it had been nourished by Parjanya, the rain-god; when the Gandharvas took it, and infused into it sap.

In other passages a Gandharva is connected with the soma plant, the sphere (*pada*) of which he is said to protect, and all the forms of which he is said to manifest (ix. 83, 4; ix. 85, 12).* In the Śatapatha Brahmaṇa (iii. 2, 4, 1, ff.) it is related that the soma existed formerly in the sky. The gods desired to get it, that they might employ it in sacrifice. The Gayatri flew to bring it for them. While she was carrying it off, the Gandharva Vibhavasu robbed her of it. The gods became aware of this, and knowing the partiality of the Gandharvas for females (comp iii. 9, 3, 20), they sent Vach, the goddess of speech, to induce them to give it up, which she succeeded in doing. And in xi. 7, 2, 8, it is said: "The soma existed in the sky. The Gayatri became a bird, and brought it." See also the Śatapatha Brahmaṇa, iii. 6, 2, 2-18, towrads the close of which passage, as well as in iii. 9, 3, 18, the Gandharvas are spoken of as the guardians of the soma.

The juice of this plant is said to be an immortal† draught, to be medicine for a sick man (viii. 61, 17). All the gods drink of it (ix. 109, 15). The god also, who is its personification, is said to clothe whatever is naked, and to heal whatever is sick; through him the blind sees, and the lame walks abroad (viii. 68, 2; x. 25, 11). He is the guardian of men's bodies, and occupies their every member (viii. 48, 9).

* See Roth's Lexicon under the word *Gandharva*.

† This means, according to Sayaṇa, that it has no deadly effects, like other intoxicating drinks.

A great variety of divine attributes and operations are ascribed to Soma. As Prof. Whitney observes, he is "addressed as a god in the highest strains of adulation and veneration; all powers belong to him; all blessings are besought of him, as his to bestow" He is said to be *asura*, divine (ix. 73, 1; ix. 74,7), and the soul of sacrifice (ix. 2, 10; ix. 6, 8). He is immortal (i. 43,9),and confers immortality on gods and men (i. 91,1,6,18; viii. 48, 3; ix. 106, 8; ix. 108, 3; ix. 109, 2, 3). In a passage (ix. 113, 7 ff.) where the joys of paradise are more distinctly anticipated and more fervently implored than in most other parts of the Rig Veda, Soma is addressed as the god from whom the gift of future felicity is expected. Thus it is there said: "7. Place me, O purified god, in that everlasting and imperishable world where there is eternal light and glory. O Indu (soma), flow for Indra. 8. Make me immortal in the world where king Vaivasvata (Yama, the son of Vivasvat,) lives, where is the innermost sphere of the sky, where those great waters flow."

Soma exhilarates Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Vishṇu, the Maruts, the other gods, Vayu, Heaven and Earth (ix. 90, 5; ix. 97, 42). By him the Adityas are strong, and the earth vast (x. 85, 2). He is the friend, helper, and soul of Indra (iv. 28, 1 ff.; ix. 85, 3; x. 25, 9), whose vigour he stimulates (ix. 76, 2), and whom he succours in his conflicts with Vṛttra (ix. 61, 22). He rides in the same chariot with Indra (ix. 87, 9; ix. 103, 5). He has, however, horses of his own, and a team like Vayu (ix. 88, 3). He ascends his filter in place of a car, and is armed with a thousand-pointed shaft (ix. 83, 5; ix. 86, 40). His weapons which, like a hero, he grasps in his hand (ix. 76, 2), are sharp and terrible (ix. 61, 30), and his bow swift-darting (ix. 90, 3). He is the slayer of Vṛttra (i. 91, 5; ix. 24, 6; ix. 25, 3; ix. 28, 3; x. 25, 9), and, like Indra, the destroyer of foes, and overthrower of cities (ix. 88, 4). In ix. 5, 9, he appears to receive the epithet of *prajâpati*, or lord of creatures. He is the creator and father of the gods (ix. 42, 4; ix. 86, 10; ix. 87, 2; ix. 109, 4), the generator of prayers, of the sky, of the earth, of Agni, of Surya, of Indra, and of Vishṇu (ix. 96, 5). He destroys the darkness (ix. 66, 24; i. 91, 22), lights up the gloomy nights (vi. 39, 3), and has created the sun, the great luminary common to all mankind (ix. 61, 16; ix. 97, 41; ix. 107, 7; ix. 110, 3). He stretched out the atmosphere (i. 91, 22), the heavens and the earth (viii. 48,

13). He is the upholder of the sky and the sustainer of the earth (vi. 47, 5 ; ix. 87, 2 ; ix. 89, 6 ; ix. 109, 6).* He is the king of gods and men (ix. 97, 24), elevated over all worlds like the divine sun (ix. 54, 3). All creatures are in his hand (ix. 89, 6). His laws are like those of king Varuna (i. 91, 3 ; ix 88, 3) ; and he is prayed to forgive their infraction, and to be gracious as a father to a son (viii. 48, 9 ; x. 25, 3). He is thousand-eyed† (ix. 60, 1, 2), and beholds all worlds, and destroys the irreligious (ix. 73, 8 ; x 25, 6). He is the most vigorous of the fierce, the most heroic of heroes ; as a warrior he is always victorious (ix. 66, 16, 17). He acquires by conquest cows, chariots, gold, heaven, water, a thousand things (ix. 78, 4), and all things (viii. 68, 1). He is *visvavedas*, the possessor of all wealth (i. 91, 2). He is wise (viii. 68, 1), strong, energetic, the author of fertility (i. 91, 2), an unconquerable protector from enemies (i. 91, 21 ; x. 25, 7), and an upholder of life (x. 25, 4, 6). The friend of a god like him cannot perish (i. 91, 8).

Soma is associated with Agni as an object of adoration in i. 93, 1 ff. In verse 5 of that hymn those two gods are said to have placed the luminaries in the sky. In the same way Soma and Pushan are conjoined in ii. 40,1 ff, where various attributes and functions of a magnificent character are ascribed to them. Thus in verse 1 they are said to be the generators of wealth, and of heaven and earth, to have been born the guardians of the whole universe, and to have been made by the gods the centre of immortality. The one has made his abode in the sky, and the other on the earth, and in the atmosphere (*v.* 4). The one has produced all the worlds, and the other moves onward beholding all things (*v.* 5). In vi. 72, and vii. 104, Soma and Indra are celebrated in company. In the first of these hymns they are said to dispel darkness, to destroy revilers, to bring the sun and the light, to prop up the sky with supports, and to have spread out mother earth. In vii. 104, their vengeance is invoked against Rakshases, Yatudhanas, and other enemies.

Hymn vi. 74, is dedicated to the honour of Soma and Rudra conjointly. The two gods, who are said to be armed with sharp weapons, are there supplicated for blessings to man and beast, for healing remedies, and for deliverance from evil and sin.

* In ix. 98, 9, he is said to have produced the two worlds, the offspring of Manu, in the sacrifices (*yajneshu manavi Indur janishta rodasi*)

† In ix. 60,2, and ix. 98, 1, Soma is also called *sahasra-bharnas*, having a thousand means of affording support.

In the post-vedic age the name Soma came to be commonly applied to the moon and its regent. Even in the Rig Veda, some traces of this application seem to be discoverable. Thus in x. 85, 3 and 5, there appears to be an allusion to the double sense of the word: "When they crush the plant, he who drinks regards it as *soma*. Of him whom the priests regard as Soma (the moon?) no one drinks. 5. When they drink thee, O god, thou increasest again. Vayu is the guardian of Soma: the month is a part (?) of the year." In the Atharva Veda the following half-verse occurs, xi 6, 7: "May the god Soma free me, he whom they call the moon (*chandramâh*)." And in the Satapatha Brahmana, i. 6, 4, 5; xi. 1, 3, 2; xi. 1, 4, 4, we have the words: "This king Soma, who is the moon, is the food of the gods." Similarly in xi., "the moon is soma, the food of the gods." (See also i. 6, 3, 4; and xii. 1, 1, 2). In v. 3, 3, 12, Soma is said to be the king of the Brahmans. In the Vishnu Purana (book i. chap. 22, p. 153 of Wilson's translation, 4to.) the double character of Soma is indicated in these words: "Soma was appointed monarch of the stars and planets, of Brahmans and of plants, of sacrifices and of penance."

The Asvins.

The Asvins seem to have been a puzzle even to the oldest Indian Commentators. Yaska thus refers to them in the Nirukta, xii. 1: "Next in order are the deities whose sphere is the heaven; of these the Asvins are the first to arrive. They are called Asvins, because they pervade (*vyasnuvate*) everything, the one with moisture, the other with light. Aurnabhava says they are called Asvins, from the horses (*asvaih*, on which they ride). Who, then, are these Asvins? 'Heaven and Earth,' say some; 'Day and Night,' say others; 'The Sun and Moon,' say others; 'Two kings, performers of holy acts,' say the legendary writers. Their time is subsequent to midnight, whilst the manifestation of light is delayed; [and ends with the rising of the sun, *ibid.* xii. 5]. The dark portion [of this time] denotes the intermediate (god = Indra), the light portion Aditya (the Sun)." Professor Roth, on the strength of this passage considers that Yaska identifies the two Asvins with Indra and the Sun (Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 159).

In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 425, the same author thus speaks of these gods: "The two Asvins, though, like the ancient interpreters of the Veda, we are by

no means agreed as to the conception of their character, hold, nevertheless, a perfectly distinct position in the entire body of the Vedic deities of light. They are the earliest bringers of light in the morning sky, who in their chariot hasten onward before the dawn, and prepare the way for her."

In a passage of the R V., x. 17, 2 (quoted in my paper on Yama, p. 288), the Asvins are represented as the twin sons of Vivasvat and Saranyu. They are also called the sons of the sky (*divo napata*) in R. V., i. 182, 1; i. 184, 1;* x. 61, 4; and in i. 46, 2 *sindhumatara*, the offspring of the Ocean† (whether aerial or terrestrial). In viii. 75, 1, they are said to have sprung (?) from the word of Daksha.

In i. 180, 2, the sister of the Asvins is mentioned, by whom the Commentator naturally understands Ushas. In vii. 71, 1, Ushas appears to be called the Sister of Night, whilst in i. 123, 5, she is said to be the sister of Bhaga and Varuna.

The Asvins are in many parts of the R. V. connected with Suryâ, the youthful daughter of the sun (called also in one place, i. 119, 2, Urjani (?)),who is represented as having chosen them for her husbands (i. 119, 5; iv. 43, 6; vii. 69, 3; comp. x. 39, 11); and as having eagerly ascended their chariot (i. 34, 5; i. 116, 17; i. 117, 13; i. 118, 5; iv. 43, 2, 6; v. 73, 5; vi. 63, 5 f.; vii. 68, 3; vii. 69, 4; viii. 8, 10; viii. 22, 1; comp. viii. 29, 8).‡

The commentator (on i. 116, 17) following the Brahmanas, explains these allusions by saying that Savitri had destined his daughter Suryâ to be the wife of Soma. But all the gods were anxious to obtain her hand, and resolved that the victor in a race which they agreed to run, should get her. She was accordingly won by the Asvins, and ascended their chariot.

Allusion is also made to Surya in connection with the Asvins in x. 85, 9, where, however, they no longer appear as her husbands: "Soma was the wooer, the Asvins were the two friends of the bridegroom,§ when Savitri gave to her husband Surya consenting in her mind..... 14. When ye came, Asvins, to the marriage procession of Surya, to make enquiries, all

* In i. 181. 4, only one of them is said to be the son of the sky.

† On this the commentator remarks that although it is the Sun and Moon that are sprung from the sea, yet the same epithet applies equally to the Asvins who in the opinion of some are identical with the former.

‡ See also A. V. vi. 82, 2.

§ Comp. A. V. xi. 8, 1.

the gods approved, and Pushan as a son chose you for his parents."

The daughter of the Sun is connected with the Soma plant in ix. 1, 6: "The Daughter of the Sun purifies thy distilled Soma," etc.; and in ix. 113, 3, she is said to have brought it after it had been expanded by the rain.

If we look on Soma as the plant of that name, the connection between it and Surya is not very clear; but if Soma be taken for the moon, as he appears to be in x. 85, 3 ("When they crush the plant, he who drinks fancies that he has drunk Soma; but no one tastes of him whom the priests know to be Soma,") it is not unnatural, from the relation of the two luminaries, that he should have been regarded as son-in-law of the sun.

The Asvins are described as coming from afar, from the sky or from the lower air (i. 22, 2; iv. 44, 5; viii. 5, 30; viii. 8, 3, 4, 7); or as arriving from different unknown quarters, whether above or below, far or near (v. 73, 1; v. 74, 10; vii. 70, 3; vii. 72, 5; viii 9, 2; viii. 10, 1, 5; viii. 26, 17; viii. 62, 5). Sometimes the worshipper enquires after their locality (i. 184, 1; v. 74, 2, 3; vi. 63, 1; viii. 62, 4). In one place (viii. 8, 23,) they are said to have three stations. The time of their appearance is properly the early dawn, when they yoke their horses to their car and descend to earth to receive the adorations and offerings of their votaries (i. 22, 1; i. 184, 1; iv. 45, 2; vii. 67, 2;* vii. 69, 5; vii. 71, 1-3; vii. 72, 4; vii. 73, 1; viii. 5, 1, 2;† viii. 9, 17;‡ x. 39, 12;§ x. 40, 1, 3; x. 41, 1, 2; x. 61, 4).‖ In i. 34, 10, Savitri is said to put their car in motion before the dawn. In other passages their time is not so well defined. Thus, in i. 157, 1, it is said: "Agni has awoke; the sun rises from the earth; the great and bright Ushas has dawned with her light; the Asvins have yoked their car to go; the divine Savitri has enlivened every part of the world:" where both the break of dawn and the appearance of the Asvins appear to be made simultaneous with the rising of the sun. The same is the case in vii. 71, 4. In v. 76, 3, the Asvins are invited to come at different times of the day, and in viii. 22, 14, it is said that they are invoked in the evening and during the day, as well as at dawn. It need not, however, surprise us that they should be invited to attend the different

* vii. 67, 2. † viii. 5, 1, 2. ‡ viii. 9, 17. § x. 39, 12. ‖ x. 61, 4.

ceremonies of the worshippers, and therefore conceived to appear at hours distinct from the natural periods of their manifestation.

It may seem unaccountable that two deities of a character so little defined, and so difficult to identify, as the Aśvins, should have been the object of so enthusiastic a worship as appears from the numerous hymns dedicated to them in the R. V. to have been paid to them in ancient times. The reason may have been that they were hailed as the precursors of returning day, after the darkness and dangers of the night. In one passage (viii. 35, 16 ff.) they are represented as being, like Agni, the chasers away of evil spirits.

The Aśvins are said to be young (vii. 67, 10), ancient (vi. 62, 5), beautiful (vi. 62, 5 ; vi. 63, 1), honey-hued (viii. 26, 6), lords of lustre (viii. 22, 14 ; x. 93, 6), bright (vii. 68, 1), of a golden brilliancy and sun-like radiance (viii. 8, 2), agile (vi. 63, 5), fleet as thought (viii. 22, 16), swift as falcons (v. 78, 4), possessed of many forms (i. 117, 9), wearing lotus garlands (x. 134, 2, and A. V. iii. 22, 4, *S.* P. Br. iv. 1, 5, 16) ; strong (x. 24, 4), mighty (vi. 62, 5), terrible, *(rudrâ,* v. 75, 3 ; x. 93, 7), skilful (*mâyinâ* or *mâyâvina,* vi. 63, 5 ; x. 24, 4), and profound in wisdom (viii. 8.2). They are overthrowers of pride (viii. 22, 16) ; and traverse a golden (v. 75, 3,) or terrible (viii. 5, 11 ; viii. 8, 1 ; viii. 22, 1, 14 ; x. 39, 11), path.*

The car, golden in all its various parts (i. 180, 1 ; iv. 44, 4, 5 ; v. 77, 3 ; viii. 5, 28, 29, 35 ; viii. 22, 9), on which they ride, flying as on bird's wings (i. 183, 1), was formed by the Ribhus (x. 39, 12), and is singular in its formation, being three-wheeled, and triple in some other parts of its construction *(trivṛt, trivandhura)* (i. 34, 2, 9 ; i. 47, 2 ; i. 118, 1, 2 ; i. 157, 3 ; vii. 71, 4 ; viii. 74, 8 ; x. 41, 1 ; comp. iv. 36, 1).

This car moves lightly (viii. 9, 8) and is swifter than thought (i. 117, 2 ; i. 118, 1 ; v. 77, 3 ; vi. 63, 7 ; x. 39, 12), or than the twinkling of an eye (viii. 62, 2). It is decked with a thousand ornaments and banners (*sahasra-nirnij, sahasra-ketu* (i. 119, 1 ; viii. 8, 11, 14, 15) and has golden reins (viii. 22, 5). It is sometimes said to be drawn by a single ass, as the word *rasabha*† is, in two places at least, explained by the commentator

* See Müller's Lectures, 2nd Series, p. 491.

† See the legend in the Aitareya Brahmana, p. 270-273 of Dr. Haug's translation.

(i. 34, 9 ; i. 116, 2 ; viii. 74, 7) ; but more frequently by fleet-winged, golden-winged, falcon-like, swan-like horses, (i. 46, 3 ; i. 117, 2 ; i. 118, 4, 5 ; i. 180, 1 ; i. 181, 2 ; iv. 45, 4 ; v. 75, 5 ; vi. 63, 7 ; vii. 69, 7 ; viii. 5, 7, 22, 33, 35 ; viii. 10, 2 ; x. 143, 5). They carry a honied whip (*kasa madhumati*, i. 22, 3 ; i. 157, 4), and traverse the regions (*tiro rajamsi*, vii. 68, 3).

The Asvins are fancifully represented as doing, or as being requested to do, a variety of acts thrice over, viz., to move thrice by night and thrice by day, to bestow food thrice at even and at dawn, to bestow wealth thrice, come to the worship of the gods thrice, to bestow celestial medicaments thrice, and earthly thrice, etc (i. 34, 1 ff ; viii. 35, 7-9).

They are elsewhere compared to different twin objects, to two vultures on tree, to two priests reciting hymns, to two goats, to two beautiful women, to husband and wife, to two ducks (*chakravaka*), to two ships, to two dogs, to two eyes, two hands, two feet, two lips, two breasts, two noses, two ears, two swans, two falcons, two deer, two buffaloes, two wing of one bird, etc., etc. (ii. 39, 1 ff. ; v. 78, 1-3 ; viii. 35, 7-9 ; x. 106, 2 ff.).

They are physicians* and restore the blind, the lame, the emaciated, and the sick, to sight, power of locomotion, health, and strength (i. 34, 6 ; i. 116, 16 ; i. 157, 6 ; viii. 9, 6, 15 ; viii 22, 10 ; viii. 75, 1 ; x. 39, 3, 5 ; x. 40, 8). See also A.V. vii. 53, 1, where it is said that the Asvins are the physicians of the gods, and warded off death.

They placed the productive germ in all creatures, and generate fire, water, and trees (i. 157, 5). They are connected with procreation and with love (x. 184, 2 ; x. 85, 26 ; A. V. ii. 30, 2 ; v. 25, 3 ; vi 102, 1 ; xiv. 1, 36 ; xiv. 2, 5). See Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 219, 234.

The following are a few of the modes in which the divine power of the Asvins is declared in different hymns to have been manifested for the deliverance of their votaries.

When the sage Chyavana had grown old, and had been forsaken, they divested him of his decrepit body, prolonged his life, and restored him to youth, making him acceptable to his wife, and the husband of maidens (i. 116, 10 ; i. 117, 13 ; i. 118, 6 : v. 74, 5 ; v. 75, 5 ; vii. 68, 6 ; vii. 71, 5 ; x. 39, 4).

* In Taitt. Br. iii. 1, 2, 11, the Asvins are called the Physicians of the gods, the bearers of oblations, the messengers of the universe, the guardians of immortality ; and in that and the preceding paragraph (10) they are connected with their own asterism (*nakshatra*), the Asvayuj.

This legend is related at length in the *S.* P. Br. in a passage which will be cited further on.

In the same way they renewed the youth of Kali* after he had grown old (x. 39, 8), and had married a wife (i. 112, 15).

They brought on a car to the youthful Vimada† a bride (i. 112, 19 ; i. 116, 1) named Kamadyu (x. 65, 12), who seems to have been the chaste wife of Purumitra (i. 117, 20 ; x. 39, 7).

They restored Vishnapu, like a lost animal, to the sight of Visvaka, son of Krishna, their worshipper, who, according to the commentator, was his father (i. 116,23 ; i. 117, 7 ; x. 65,12).

The names both of Visvaka and Vishnapu occur in R. V. viii. 75, a hymn addressed to the Asvins ; and the commentator connects the reference there made to them with the legend before us (on which, however, the hymn itself throws no light).

Another act recorded of the Asvins, is their intervention in favour of Bhujyu, the son of Tugra, which is obscurely described in the following verses in R. V. i. 116, 3–5 : "Tugra abandoned Bhujyu in the water-cloud, as any dead man leaves his property. Ye, Asvins, bore him in animated (*atmanvatibhih*) water-tight ships, which traversed the air. 4. There nights and three-days did ye convey him in three flying cars, with a hundred feet, and six horses, which crossed over to the dry land beyond the liquid ocean. 3. Ye put forth your vigour in the ocean, which offers no stay, or standing-place, or support, when ye bore Bhujyu to his home, standing on a ship propelled by a hundred oars." R. V. i. 117, 14, 15 : "Ye conveyed Bhujyu out of the liquid ocean with your headlong flying horses. 15. The son of Tugra invoked you, Asvins. Borne forward, he moved without distress over the sea. Ye brought him out with your well-yoked chariot swift as thought." Again in i. 182, 5 ff. it is said : "Ye (Asvins) made this animated (*atmanvantam*) winged boat for the son of Tugra among the waters.....6. Four ships, in eager haste (?) impelled by the Asvins, convey to the shore Tugra, who had been plunged in the waters, and sunk in bottomless darkness. 7. What was that log, placed in the midst of the waves, which the suppliant son of Tugra embraced, as the wings of a bird, for support?" In vii. 68, 7, Bhujyu is said to have been abandoned by his malevolent companions in the middle of the sea. The

* The family of the Kalis is mentioned viii. 55, 15.

† A rishi of this name is mentioned R. V. viii. 9, 15 ; x. 20, 10 ; x. 23,7 ; and a family of Vimadas in x. 23, 6.

story is also alluded to in i. 112, 6, 20; i. 118, 6; i. 119, 4; vi. 62, 6; vii. 69, 7; viii. 5, 22; x. 39, 4; x. 40, 7; x. 65, 12; x. 143, 5.

Again, when Vispala's leg had been cut off in battle, like the wing of a bird, the Asvins are said, when lauded by Agastya to have given her an iron one instead (R. V. i. 112, 10; 1, 116, 15; i. 117, 11; i. 118, 8; x. 39, 8).*

They restored sight to Rijrasva, who had been made blind by his father for giving a hundred and one sheep to a she wolf to eat (i. 116, 16; i. 117, 17, 18). Rijrasva is mentioned in i. 100, 17, as praising Indra.

They restored Paravrj (or an outcast), who was blind and lame, to sight and the power of walking (i. 112, 8). Paravrj is connected with Indra in ii. 13, 12, and ii. 15, 7.

The Rishi Rebha has been hidden by the malignant, bound, overwhelmed in the waters (a well, according to the commentator), for ten nights and nine days, and abandoned till he was nearly, if not entirely, dead. The Asvins drew him up as soma-juice is raised with a ladle, or as a pot full of gold is dug out of the earth (i. 112, 5; i. 116, 24; i. 117, 4, 12; i. 118, 6; i. 119, 6; x. 39, 9).

Vandana seems to have been delivered from a somewhat similar calamity according to i. 112, 5; i. 118, 6; x. 39, 8. According to i. 119, 6, 7, however, he would appear to have been restored from decrepitude. From i. 116, 11, and i. 117, 5, it would seem as if some person or thing had been restored to him.

So, too, the Asvins bestowed wisdom on their worshipper Kakshivat, of the family of Pajra; and performed the notable miracle of causing a hundred jars of wine and honied liquor to flow forth from the hoof of their horse as from a sieve (i. 116, 7; i. 117, 6).

When invoked by the popular sage Atri Saptavadhri, who had been plunged by the malice and arts of evil spirits into a gloomy and burning abyss,† they speedily came to his assistance, mitigated the heat with cold, and supplied him with nutriment, so that his situation became tolerable, if not agreeable, till they eventually extricated him from his perilous

* Compare the word *vispalavasu* in R. V. i. 182, 1.

† See Roth's explanation of the words *rbisa* and *gharma*, and his Illustrations of Nirukta, vi. 36.

position (i. 112, 7 ; i. 116, 8 ; i. 117, 3 ; i, 118, 7 ; i. 119, 6 ; v. 78, 4-6 ; vii. 71, 5 ; viii. 62, 3, 7-9 ; x. 39, 9). In x. 80, 3, the deliverance of Atri is ascribed to Agni.

They listened to the invocation of the wise Vadhrimati, and gave her a son called Hiranyahasta (i. 116, 13 ; i. 117, 24 ; vi. 62, 7 ; x. 39, 7).

They gave a husband to Ghoshâ when she was growing old in her father's house (i. 117, 7 ; x. 39, 3, 6 ; x. 40) ; and, according to the commentator, cured her of the leprosy with which she had been afflicted (comp. i. 122, 5).

They caused the cow of the suppliant Sayu, which had left off bearing, to yield milk (i. 116, 22 ; i. 117, 20 ; i. 118, 8 ; i. 119, 6 ; x. 39, 13).

They gave to Pedu a strong, swift, white horse, of incomparable Indra-like prowess, which overcame all his enemies, and conquered for him unbounded spoils (i. 116, 6 ; i. 117, 9 ; i. 118, 9 ; i. 119, 10 ; vii. 71, 5 ; x. 39, 10).

Finally, to say nothing of the succours rendered to numerous other persons (i. 112, 116, 117, 118, 119,) the Asvins did not confine their benevolence to human beings, but are also celebrated as having rescued from the jaws of a wolf a quail by which they were invoked (i. 116, 14 ; i. 117, 16 ; i. 118, 8 ; x. 39, 13).

The deliverances of Rebha, Vandana, Paravṛj, Bhujyu, Chyavana, and others are explained by Professor Benfey, (following Dr. Kuhn and Professor Müller) in the notes to his translations of the hymns in which they are mentioned, as referring to certain physical phenomena with which the Asvins are supposed by these scholars to be connected. But this allegorical method of interpretation seems unlikely to be correct, as it is difficult to suppose that the phenomena in question should have been alluded to under such a variety of names and circumstances. It appears therefore to be more probable that the Rishis merely refer to certain legends which were popularly current of interventions of the Asvins in behalf of the persons whose names are mentioned. The word Paravṛj (in i. 112, 8), which is taken by the commentator for a proper name, and is explained by Professors Müller* and Benfey as the returning, or the setting, sun, is interpreted by Professor Roth in his Lexicon, *s.v.*, as an outcast.

* Lectures on language, second series, p. 512.

In viii. 26, 8, the Aśvins are invoked along with Indra, with whom they are also connected in x. 73, 4, and on whose car they sometimes ride, while at other times they accompany Vayu, or the Adityas, or the Ribhus, or participate in the strides of Vishṇu (viii. 9, 12). In i. 182, 2, they are said to possess strongly the qualities of Indra and of the Maruts. In x. 131, 4, 5, they are described as assisting Indra in his conflict with the Asura Namuchi and as vigorous slayers of Vṛttra or of enemies (viii. 8, 22). They are greeted with affection (?) by the other gods when they arrive, x. 24, 5. In A. V. xii. 1, 10, they are represented as having meted out the earth.

The Aśvins are supplicated with uplifted hands (vi. 63, 3,) for a variety of blessings, for long life, and forgiveness of sin (i. 157, 4); for offspring, wealth, victory, destruction of enemies, protection of friends, preservation of the worshippers themselves, of their houses and cattle (vii. 67, 6; viii. 8, 13, 15, 17; viii. 9, 11, 13; viii. 26. 7). They are exhorted to pass by and to destroy the man who offers no oblations, and to create light for the wise man who praises them (i. 182, 3).

No calamity or alarm from any quarter can touch the man whose chariot they place in the van (x. 39, 11). The Rishi addresses them as a son his parents (vii. 67, 1). In x. 39, 6, a female suppliant, who represents herself as friendless and destitute, calls on them to treat her as parents do their children, and rescue her from her misfortunes. In another place (viii 62, 11) they are reproached with being as tardy as two old men to respond to the summons of their worshipper. In vii. 72, 2, the Rishi represents himself as having hereditary claims on their consideration, and a common bond of union.*

The Aśvins are described as being, like the other gods, fond of the soma juice (iii. 58, 7, 9; iv. 45, 1, 3; viii. 8, 5; viii. 35, 7-9).

The following version of the legend relating to the cure of Chyavana by the Aśvins (to which allusion is made in the passages of the R. V. quoted above) is found in the Śatapatha Brahmaṇa, iv. 1, 5, 1 ff. :—

"Chyavana of the race of Bhṛgu, or Chyavana of the race of

* The commentator explains this of a common ancestry by saying, in accordance with later tradition, that Vivasvat and Varuṇa were both sons of Kasyapa and Aditi, and that Vivasvat was the father of the Aśvins, while Varuṇa was father of Vasistha the Rishi of the hymn. See Sanskrit Texts, i. 75, f.

Angiras, having magically assumed a shrivelled form, was abandoned. Saryata, the descendant of Manu, wandered over this [world] with his tribe. He sat down in the neighbourhood [of Chyavana]. His youths, while playing, fancied this shrivelled magical body to be worthless, and pounded it with clods. Chyavana was incensed at the sons of Saryata. He created discord among them, so that father fought with son, and brother with brother. Saryata bethought him, 'what have I done? in consequence of which this calamity has befallen us.' He ordered the cowherds and shepherds to be called, and said, 'which of you has seen anything here to-day?' They replied, 'this shrivelled magical body which lies there is a man. Fancying it was something worthless, the youths pounded it with clods.' Saryata knew then that it was Chyavana. He yoked his chariot, and taking his daughter Sukanya, drove off, and arrived at the place where the Rishi was. He said, 'Reverence to thee, Rishi; I injured thee because I did not know. This is Sukanya, with her I appease thee. Let my tribe be reconciled.' His tribe was in consequence reconciled; and Saryata of the race of Manu strove that he might never again do injury to any one. Now the Asvins used to wander over this world, performing cures. They approached Sukanya and wished to seduce her; but she would not consent. They said to her 'Sukanya, what shrivelled magical body is this by which thou liest? follow us.' She replied, 'I will not abandon, while he lives, the man to whom my father gave me.' The Rishi became aware of this. He said, 'Sukanya, what was this that they said to thee?' She told it to him. When informed, he said, 'If they address thee thus again, say to them, 'ye are neither complete nor perfect, and yet ye speak contemptuously of my husband;' and if they ask 'in what respect are we incomplete and imperfect?' then reply, 'make my husband young again, and I will tell you.' Accordingly they came again to her, and said the same thing. She answered, 'Ye are neither complete nor perfect, and yet ye talk contemptuously of my husband.' They enquired, 'In what respect are we incomplete and imperfect?' She rejoined, 'make my husband young again, and I will tell you.' They replied, 'take him to this pond, and he shall come forth with any age which he shall desire.' She took him to the pond, and he came forth with the age that he desired. The Asvins then asked, 'Sukanya, in what respect are we incomplete and imperfect?' To this the Rishi replied, 'The other gods celebrate a sacri-

fice in Kurukshetra, and exclude you two from it. That is the respect in which ye are incomplete and imperfect.' The Asvins then departed and came to the gods who were cele brating a sacrifice, when the Bahishpavamana* text had been recited. They said, 'Invite us to join you.' The gods replied, 'We will not invite you, for ye have wandered about very familiarly among men,† performing cures.' The Asvins rejoined, 'Ye worship with a headless sacrifice.' They asked, 'How [do we worship] with a headless [sacrifice]?' The Asvins answered, 'Invite us to join you, and we will tell you.' The gods consented, and invited them. They offered this Asvina draught (*graha*) to the Asvins, who became the two adhvaryu priests‡ of the sacrifice, and restored the head of the sacrifice. It is related in the Brahmana of the Divakirttyas, in what manner they restored the head of the sacrifice," etc., etc.

A story, varying in some particulars, is narrated in the Mahabharata, Vanaparva, 10316 ff. We are there told that the body of Chyavana, when performing austerity in a certain place, became encrusted with an ant-hill; that king Saryati came then to the spot with his wives and his daughter Sukanya; that the Rishi seeing her, became enamoured of her and endeavoured to gain her affections, but without eliciting from her any reply. Seeing, however, the sage's eyes gleaming out from the ant-hill, and not knowing what they were, the princess pierced them with a sharp instrument, whereupon Chyavana became incensed, and afflicted the king's army with a stoppage of urine and of the other necessary function. When the king found out the cause of the infliction, and supplicated the Rishi for its removal, the latter insisted on receiving the king's daughter to wife, as the sole condition of his forgiveness. Sukanya accordingly lived with the Rishi as his spouse. One day, however, she was seen by the Asvins, who endeavoured, but without effect, to persuade her to desert her decrepit husband, and choose one of them in his place. They then told her they were the physicians of the god, and would restore her husband to youth and beauty, when she could make her choice between him and one of them. Chyavana and his wife

* See Haug's Ait. Br. ii. 120, note 13.

† In the Mahabharata, Santip. v. 7589 f. it is said that the Asvins are the Sudras of the gods, the Angirases being the Brahmans, the Adityas the Kshatriyas, and the Maruts the Vaisyas.

‡ Comp. *S.* P. Br. viii. 2, 1, 3.

consented to this; and at the suggestion of the Asvins he entered with them into the neighbouring pond; when the three came forth of like celestial beauty, and each asked her to be his bride. She however recognized and chose her own husband. Chyavana in gratitude for his restoration to youth, then offered to compel Indra to admit the Asvins to a participation in the Soma ceremonial, and fulfilled his promise in the course of a sacrifice which he performed for king Saryati. On that occasion Indra objected to such an honour being extended to the Asvins, on the ground that they wandered about among men as physicians, changing their forms at will; but Chyavana refused to listen to the objection and carried out his intention, staying the arm of Indra when he was about to launch a thunderbolt, and creating a terrific demon who was on the point of devouring the king of the gods, and was only prevented by the timely submission of the latter.*

I have been favoured by Professor Goldstücker with the following note on the Asvins:—

The myth of the Asvins is, in my opinion, one of that class of myths in which two distinct elements, the cosmical and the human or historical, have gradually become blended into one. It seems necessary, therefore, to separate these two elements in order to arrive at an understanding of the myth. The historical or human element in it, I believe, is represented by those legends which refer to the wonderful cures effected by the Asvins, and to their performances of a kindred sort; the cosmical element is that relating to their luminous nature. The link which connects both seems to be the mysteriousness of the nature and effects of the phenomena of light, and of the healing art at a remote antiquity. That there might have been some horsemen or warriors of great renown who inspired their contemporaries with awe by their wonderful deeds, and more especially by their medical skill, appears to have been also the opinion of some old commentators mentioned by Yaska, for some "legendary writer," he says, took them for "two kings, performers of holy acts;" and this view seems likewise borne out by the legend in which it is narrated

* See the similar account of Chyavana's power in the passage from the Anusasana parva quoted in Sanskrit Texts, i. 167 f.

that the gods refused the Asvins admittance to a sacrifice on the ground that they had been on too familiar terms with men. It would appear then that these Asvins, like the Rbhus, were originally renowned mortals, who in the course of time were translated into the companionship of the gods; and it may be a matter of importance to investigate whether, besides this *a priori* view, there are further grounds of a linguistic or grammatical character, for assuming that the hymns containing the legends relating to these human Asvins are posterior or otherwise to those descriptive of the cosmical gods of the same name.

The luminous character of the latter can scarcely be matter of doubt, for the view of some commentators—recorded by Yaska,—according to which they were identified with "heaven and earth," appears not to be countenanced by any of the passages known to us. Their very name, it would seem, settles this point, since *asva*, the horse, lit. "the pervader," is always the symbol of the luminous deities, especially of the sun. The difficulty, however, is to determine their position amongst these deities and to harmonise with it the other myths connected with them. I may here, however, first observe that though Yaska records opinions which identify the Asvins with "day and night," and "sun and moon," the passage relied upon by Professor Roth to prove that Yaska himself identified them with Indra and Aditya (the sun), does not bear out any such conclusion. For the passage in question, as I understand it, means: "their time is after the (latter) half of the night when the (space's) becoming light is resisted (by darkness); for the middlemost Asvin (between darkness and light) shares in darkness, whilst (the other), who is of a solar nature (aditya), shares in light." There is this verse relating to them: "In nights,"* etc. Nor does Durga, the commentator on Yaska, attribute to the latter the view which Professor Roth ascribes to him. His words, as I interpret them, are: " 'their time is after the (latter) half of the night when the (space's) becoming light is resisted,' (means) when, after the (latter) half of the night darkness intersected by light makes an effort against light, that is the time of the Asvins..... Then the nature of the middlemost (between them) is a share in that darkness which penetrates into light; and

* *Nir.* xii. 1. tayo*h* kala*h* urdhvam ardharatrat prakasibhavasyanuvishtambham anu (the last word is omitted in Durga MS. I. O. L., No. 206) tamobhago hi madhyamo jyotirbhaga adityo*h*; tayor esha bhavati Vasatishu sma, etc.

the solar one (âditya) assumes that nature which is a share in the light penetrating into darkness. These two are the middlemost and the uppermost: this is the teacher's (*i.e.* Yaska's) own opinion, for in order to substantiate it he gives as an instance the verse '*Vasâtishu sma*,'"* etc.

To judge, therefore, from these words, it is the opinion of Yaska that the Asvins represent the transition from darkness to light when the intermingling of both produces that inseparable duality expressed by the twin nature of these deities. And this interpretation, I hold, is the best that can be given of the character of the *cosmical* Asvins. It agrees with the epithets by which they are invoked and with the relationship in which they are placed. They are young, yet also ancient, beautiful, bright, swift, etc.; and their negative character—the result of the alliance of light with darkness—is, I believe, expressed by *dasra*, the destroyer, and also by the two negatives in the compound *nâsatya* (*na*+*a-satya*), though their positive character is again redeemed by the ellipsis of "enemies, or diseases," to *dasra*, and by the sense of *nâsatya*, not-untrue, *i. e.* truthful. They are the parents of Pushan, the sun; for, they precede the rise of the sun; they are the sons of the sky and again the sons of Vivasvat and Saranyu. Vivasvat, I believe, here implies the firmament "expanding" to the sight through the approaching light; and though Saranyu is to Professor Müller one of the deities which are forced by him to support his dawn-theory, it seems to me that the etymology of the word, and the character of the myths relating to it, rather point to the moving air, or the dark and cool air, heated and therefore set in motion by the approach of the rising sun. The Asvins are also the husbands or the friends of Suryâ, whom I take for the representative of the weakest manifestation of the sun; and I believe that Sayana is right when by the sister of the Asvins he understands Ushas, the dawn. The mysterious phenomenon of the intermingling of darkness—which is no longer complete night—and of light—which is not yet dawn—seems to agree with all these conceptions, and with the further details of a cosmical nature, which are so fully given in the preceding paper.

* Durga I. O. L., No 206.

Notice of some of the Goddesses in the Vedic Hymns.

Of the goddesses mentioned in the Rig Veda some have been noticed already in this or preceding papers, viz., Aditi, the mother of the Adityas, and representative of the universe; Diti, her counterpart; Nishṭigri, the mother, and Indrâṇi, the wife of Indra;* Pṛisni, the mother of the Maruts; and Suryâ, the daughter of the Sun, and spouse of the Aśvins, or of Soma. Various other goddesses are also celebrated in the hymns of the Rig Veda, such as Agnayi, Varuṇani, Rodasi, Raka, Sinivali, Śraddha (Faith), and the Apsarases, whose names, however, occur but rarely; and Ushas, and Sarasvati, with her cognates, who receive considerably greater prominence.

Sarasvati.

Sarasvati is a goddess of some, though not of very great, importance in the Rig Veda. As observed by Yaska (Nirukta ii. 23) she is celebrated both as a river and as a deity.† As an instance of the former character, he refers to R. V. vi. 61, 2, which I shall quote further on. She was no doubt primarily a river deity, as her name, "the watery,"‡ clearly denotes, and in this capacity she is celebrated in a few separate passages. Allusion is made in the hymns, as well as in the Brahmaṇas (Ait. Br. ii. 19; Haug, vol. ii. p. 112) to sacrifices being performed on the banks of this river and of the adjoining Dṛishadvati;§ and the Sarasvati in particular seems to have been associated with the reputation for sanctity, which, according to the well-known passage in the Institutes of Manu

* Indrâṇi says in R. V. x. 86, 9: "This mischievous creature treats me with disdain as if I had no husband or sons, and yet I am the wife of Indra, and the mother of a hero," etc.; and in v. 11, it is said: "I have heard of Indrâṇi as the most fortunate of all these females, for never at any future time shall her husband die from decay." Indrâṇi is mentioned in the Taitt. Br. ii. 4, 2, 7, from which it appears that different goddesses had been competitors for the hand of Indra, and that Indrâṇi has been chosen because she surpassed them all in voluptuous attractions. In the same work, ii. 8, 8, 4, Vach is said to be the wife of Indra.

† See also Sayaṇa on R. V. i. 3, 12.

‡ *Sarasvati sara ity udaka-nama sartes tad-vati* (Nir. ix. 26). The Brahmavaivartta-purana, ii. 5, as referred to in Prof. Aufrecht's Cat. p. 23, col. 2, has a legend that the Sarasvati was changed into a river by an imprecation of the Ganga. In the A. V. vi. 100, 1, three Sarasvatis are spoken of, but no explanation is given of their difference.

§ R. V. iii. 23, 4.

(ii. 17 f.) was ascribed to the whole region, called Brahmâvartta, lying between these two small streams, and situated immediately to the westward of the Jumna. The Sarasvati thus appears to have been to the early Indians what the Ganges (which is only twice named in the Rig Veda) became to their descendants.* Already in R. V. i. 3, 10 (where, however, she is perhaps regarded as the goddess of sacrifice) she is described as "the purifier;" and in R. V. x. 17, 10 (=Vaj. San. 4, 2; A. V. vi. 51, 2), (after Sarasvati has been mentioned, vv. 7-9), the waters are thus celebrated: "May the Waters, the mothers, cleanse us, may they (the waters) who purify with butter, purify us with butter, for these goddesses bear away sin; I come up out of them pure and cleansed." When once the river had acquired a divine character, it was quite natural that she should be regarded as the patroness of the ceremonies which were celebrated on the margin of her holy waters, and that her direction and blessing should be invoked as essential to their proper performance and success. The connection into which she was thus brought with sacred rites seems to have led to the further step of imagining her to have an influence on the composition of the hymns which formed so important a part of the proceedings, and of identifying her with Vach, the goddess of speech. At least, I have no other explanation to offer of this identification.

Sarasvati is frequently invited to the sacrifices along with several other goddesses, Ilo, Bharati, Mahi, Hotra, Varutri, Dhishana (i. 13, 9; i. 142, 9; i. 188, 8; iii. 4, 8; v. 5, 8; v. 42, 12; ix. 5, 8; x. 110, 8), who, however, were never, like her, river nymphs, but personifications of some department of religious worship, or sacred science. She is also frequently invoked along with other deities (ii. 30, 8; iii. 54, 13; vii. 35, 11; viii. 38, 10; ix. 81, 4; x. 65, 1, 13; x. 141, 5).

In many of the passages where Sarasvati is celebrated, her original character is, as I have intimated, distinctly preserved. Thus in vi. 52, 6; x. 30, 12, she is mentioned along with rivers, or fertilizing waters; and in x. 64, 9; x. 75, 5, she is specified along with the other well-known streams which are there named. In vii. 96, 2, and viii. 21, 18, reference is made to the

* It is clear from the passages quoted in Sanskrit Texts, ii. 415 ff. that the Sarasvati continued in later times also to be regarded as a sacred river, but this character was shared by other Indian streams, if not by them all.

kings and people living along her banks. In vi. 61, 10, and vii 36, 6, she is spoken of as having seven sisters, as one of seven rivers, and as the mother of streams. In vii. 95, 1 and 2, she is said to pour on her fertilizing waters, and to surpass all other rivers, to flow pure from the mountains to the sea, to be the swiftest of floods (*apasam apastama* (vi. 61, 13); and in vi. 61, 2 and 8, to tear away the bases of the mountains on her banks with her impetuous and resounding current. In ii. 41, 16, she is called the best of mothers, of rivers, and of goddesses (*ambitame, naditame, devitame*).

In vii. 96, 4-6, a river god called Sarasvati is assigned as a consort to Sarasvati, who rolls along his fertilizing waters, and is invoked by the worshippers as the bestower of wives and offspring, as well as of plenty and protection.

In v. 43, 11, Sarasvati is called upon to descend from the sky, from the great mountain, to the sacrifice; and in vi. 49, 7, where she is called the daughter of the lightning (*pariravi kanya*)* and the wife of a hero (*vira-patni*),† she is supplicated to combine with the spouses of the gods to afford secure protection to the worshipper. In the first of these two passages the poet may perhaps be considered as assigning a celestial origin to the river as the offspring of thunder and rain.

In vi. 61, 11 f. she is said to fill the terrestrial regions and the air, and to occupy three abodes (*trisadashtha*), and to have seven parts or elements (*sapta-dhatuh*).

When regarded as a river nymph, Sarasvati is further described as an iron barrier or fortress, and a support (vii. 95, 1), as bestowing wealth, fatness, and fertility (vii. 95, 2), and is besought to listen to the prayer of her worshippers at their sacrifices (*ibid.* 4), to receive their praises, to shelter and protect them like a tree (*ibid.* 5), and to grant reputation to the unrenowned (ii. 41, 16). In vi. 61, 14, the rishi prays that he may not be removed to regions which are strange to her.

In vi. 61, 1, she is represented as having given to Vadhryasva a son Divodasa, a canceller of his debts.

Viewed as the patroness of holy rites, (though it is not always easy to separate the one from the other of her characters),

* See Roth *s. v.* and compare x. 65, 13. Prof. Müller, in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beitrage, etc., iii. 448, assigns to *pariravi* the sense of "thundering."

† Sayana says her husband is Prajapati. Would it not rather be Sarasvat?

Sarasvati is described as coming to the place of sacrifice in the same chariot with the oblations and the forefathers (x. 17, 8), as unctuous with butter, and as stimulating, directing, and prospering the devotions of the worshippers (i. 3, 10,11 ; ii. 3,8 ; vi. 61, 4). She affords secure protection, conquers enemies (ii. 30, 8 ; vi. 49, 7), and destroys the revilers of the gods (vi. 61, 3). She is dreadful, moves along a golden path, and is a destroyer of Vrittra (vi. 61, 7). She yields prosperity and riches of all description from her prolific breasts* (i. 89, 3 ; i. 164, 49 ; viii. 21, 17 ; x. 17, 8, 9 ; ix. 67, 32), is the receptacle of all the powers of life (*visra ayunshi*), and bestows offspring (ii. 41, 17). In x. 184, 2, she is associated with the deities who assist procreation. In ii. 1, 11, Agni is identified with her, and several other goddesses.

In R. V. x. 131, 5 (=Vaj. S. x. 34) where the Asvins are said to have defended Indra, Sarasvati also is declared to have waited upon him. And in Vaj. S. xix. 12, it is said, "The gods celebrated a healing sacrifice, the Asvins physicians, and Sarasvati too a physician through speech, communicated vigour to Indra." The Asvins and Sarasvati are also connected with each other in Vaj. S. xix. 12, 15, 18, 34, 80-83, 88-90, 93-95 ; xx. 56-69, 73-76, 90. In xix. 94, it is said that "Sarasvati, wife of the Asvins, holds a well-formed embryo in her womb. Varuna, king in the waters, produced Indra for glory, by the aqueous fluid as if by a *sama* verse." It does not appear that in the R. V. Sarasvati is identified with Vach.

In the later mythology, as is well known, Sarasvati was identified with Vach, and became under different names the spouse of Brahmâ, and the goddess of wisdom and eloquence, and is invoked as a Muse. In the Mahabharata she is called the mother of the Vedas (*Santiparva* v. 12920), and the same is said of Vach in the Taittiriya Br. ii. 8, 8, 5, where (and in the preceding par. 4,) she is also said to be the wife of Indra, to contain within herself all worlds, and to have been sought after by the rishis who composed the Vedic hymns (*rishayo mantra-kritah*), as well as by the gods, through austerity.

In the Santiparva v. 6811, it is related that when the Brahmarshis were performing austerities prior to the creation of the universe, "a voice derived from Brahmâ entered into the

* Compare Ait. Br. iv. 1, at the end, where her two breasts are said to be truth and falsehood.

48823

ears of them all; the celestial Sarasvati was then produced from the heavens."

Excepting Aditi and Ushas the other goddesses mentioned in the Rig Veda are, as I have already intimated, of very little importance. Agnayi, Varunani, Asvini, and Rodasi, the wives of Agni, Varuna, the Asvins, and Rudra respectively (Nirukta ix. 33 f.; xi. 50; xii, 46) are only alluded to in a few passages, i. 22, 12; ii. 32, 8; v. 46, 8; vi. 50, 5; vi. 66, 6; vii. 34, 22. No distinct functions are assigned to them, and they do not occupy positions at all corresponding to the rank of their husbands, with whom in fact they are never associated. The insignificance of these goddesses forms a striking contrast to the prominent position assumed by the spouses of Siva and Vishnu, especially the former, in the later mythology.

Aranyani.

Aranyani (Nir. ix. 29, 30), is the goddess of forest solitude. She is celebrated in R. V. x. 146, which I have translated in a preceding paper.

Raka, Sinivali, and Gungu.

Raka, Sinivali, and Gungu (whom Sayana on ii. 32, 8, identifies with Kuhu) are three other goddesses mentioned in the R. V. (the first in ii. 32, 4, 5, 8; v. 42, 12; the second in ii. 32, 6 ff; x. 184, 2; and the third in ii. 32, 8). Sayana (on ii. 32, 4) says that Raka is the full moon.* She is, however, closely connected with parturition, as she is asked to "sew the work (apparently the formation of the embryo) with an unfailing needle), and to bestow a son with abundant wealth" (ii. 34, 4). Sinivali and Kuhu are (as we are told by Yaska, xi. 31), wives of the gods according to the mythologists (*nairuktah*), and the two new moons (*amavasye*) according to the ritualists (*yajnikah*), Sinivali being the earlier and Kuhu the later. Sinivali is, however, also connected with parturition, being called the broad-loined (or bushy-haired), the prolific, the handsome-armed, the handsome-fingered, supplicated for progeny (ii. 32, 6, 7), and asked to bestow pregnancy (x. 184, 2; A. V. v. 25, 3; vi. 11, 3). Yaska quotes from the Taitt. Br. iii. 3, 11, a verse regarding Kuhu, whose name does not occur in the Rig Veda.

* On these goddesses see Weber's Ind. Stud. v. 228 ff. and 237.

Sraddha.

Personifications of abstract ideas are not unknown in the Rig Veda, one hymn of which (x. 151) is addressed to *Sraddha*, or religious faith. By her, it is said, *v.* 1(=Nir. ix. 31), "the (sacrificial) fire is kindled, and by her the oblation is offered up." She is asked to prosper the liberal worshippers of the gods (*v.v.* 2, 3), and to impart faith; and is said to be an object of adoration in the morning, at noon, and at sunset (*v.* 5).*

Sraddha is also celebrated in the Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 8, 6 f., where the above hymn of the R. V. is repeated; and she is there further said to dwell among the gods, to be the universe, and the mother of Kama. In the same Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 3, 1, we are told that through *Sraddha* a god obtains his divine character, that the divine *Sraddha* is the support of the world, that she has Kama (or the fulfilment of desire) for her calf, and yields immortality as her milk; that she is the first-born of the religious ceremonial, and the sustainer of the whole world: and she, who is the supreme mistress of the world, is besought to bestow immortality on her worshippers. In the *S.* P. Br. (xii. 7, 3, 11) she is called the daughter of Surya; an appellation which is repeated in the M. Bh. Santi-parva, *v.* 9449, where she is styled *Sraddha* Vaivasvati, as well as Suryasya duhitâ and Savi*tri*.

Lakshmi and Sri.

Lakshmi is not found in the R. V. in the sense which the word bears in the later mythology, of a goddess personifying good fortune, though the word itself occurs in x. 71, 2,† in another signification. In the A. V., however, we have the following hymn which speaks of a plurality of Lakshmis, some good and some bad: vii. 115, 1: "Fly away hence, o unlucky (or miserable) Lakshmi (*papi lakshmi*), perish hence, fly away from thence: with an iron hook we fasten thee to our enemy. 2. Savi*tri*, do thou who art golden-handed, bestowing on us wealth, send away from us to some other quarter the flying and inauspicious Lakshmi who mounts up on me,

* In the Vaj. Sanhita, xix. 30, it is said that faith (*sraddha*) is obtained by gifts (*dakshina*) and truth (*satya*) by faith.

† In the words *bhadra esham lakshmi nihita adhi vachi*, "an auspicious fortune is attached to their words."

as a creeper* upon a tree. 3. A hundred Lakshmis are born together with the body of a mortal at his birth. Of these we chase away hence the most unlucky. Do thou, Jatavedas, retain for us those which are fortunate. 4. Thus I divide them like the cows standing upon barren ground. May those Lukshmis which are auspicious (*punyah*) rest here. Those which are unlucky (*papih*) I destroy." The expression *punya Lakshmi* occurs also in A. V. xii. 5, 6).

In the Vaj. S. xxxi. 22, *Sri* and Lakshmi are said to be the two wives (of Aditya, according to the commentator). In the *S.* P. Br. xi. 4, 3, 1, Sri is described as issuing forth from Prajapáti when he was performing intense austerity. Beholding her then standing resplendent and trembling,† the gods were covetous of her and proposed to Prajapati that they should be allowed to kill her, and appropriate her gifts. He replied that she was a female, and that males did not generally kill females. They should therefore take from her her gifts without depriving her of life. In consequence, Agni, took from her food ; Soma, kingly authority ; Varuna, imperial authority ; Mitra, martial energy (kshattra) ; Indra, force ; Brihaspati, priestly glory (brahma-varchasa) ; Savitri, dominion ; Pushan, splendour ; Sarasvati, nourishment, and Tvashtri, forms. *Sri* then complained to Prajapati that they had taken all these things from her. He told her to demand them back from them by sacrifice. This she accordingly did, and succeeded.

* *Vandana.* This word does not occur in Wilson's Dictionary, but I find there *vanda* in the sense of a creeping plant.

† *Lelayanti.* As fixing the sense of this word Prof. Aufrecht refers me to *S.* P. Br. p. 136 ; Brhad Aranyaka p. 737 ; Mundaka up. pp. 274, 276 ; and Svetasvatara up. p. 332.

Art. II.—*The Priests in the Vedic Age.*

In a former paper on "Manu, the progenitor of the Aryan Indians," published in the Society's Journal, I have attempted to shew that in general the authors of the hymns of the Rig-veda regarded the whole of the Aryan people, embracing not only the priests and the chiefs, but the middle classes also of the population, as descended from one common father, or ancestor, whom they dosignate by the name of Manu. This reference to a common progenitor excludes, of course, the supposition that the writers by whom it is made could have had any belief in the myth which became afterwards current among their countrymen, that their nation consisted of four castes, differing naturally in dignity, and separately created by Brahma.

That essay, however, leaves out of consideration any notices which the Rig-veda may contain regarding the different classes of which the society contemporary with its composition was made up. As this great collection of hymns embodies numerous references, both to the authors themselves and to the other agents in the celebration of divine worship, it may be expected to supply, incidentally or indirectly, at least, some information respecting the opinion which these ministers of religion entertained of themselves, and of the relation in which they stood to the other sections of the community. I shall now endeavour to shew how far this expectation is justified by an examination of the Rig-veda.

I have elsewhere* enquired into the views which the authors of the hymns appear to have held on the subject of their own authorship. The conclusion I arrived at was, that they did not in general look upon their compositions as divinely inspired, since they frequently speak of them as the productions of their own minds (*ibid.* pp. 128-140). But though this is most commonly the case (and especially, as we may conjecture, in regard to the older hymns), there is no doubt that they also attached a high value to these productions, which they describe as being acceptable to the gods (R. V. v, 45, 4 ; v. 85, 1 ; vii. 26, 1, 2 ; x. 23, 6 ; x. 54, 6 ; x. 105, 8), whose activity they stimulated (iii. 34, 1 ; vii. 19, 11), and whose blessing they drew down. In some of the hymns a supernatural character or insight is claimed for the Rishis (i. 179, 2 ; vii. 76, 4 ; iii. 53, 9 ; vii. 33, 11 ff.;

* Sanskrit Texts, vol. iii. pp. 116—164.

vii. 87, 4 ; vii. 88, 3 ff. ; x. 14, 15 ; x. 62, 4, 5), and a mysterious efficacy is ascribed to their compositions (Sanskrit Texts, vol. iii. pp. 173 f.) The Rishis called their hymns by various names, as *arka, uktha, rch, gir, dhi, nitha, nivid, mantra, mati, sukta, stoma, vach, vachas*, etc. etc. ; and they also frequently applied to them the appellation of *brahma*, as, for instance, in the whole, or most, of the following passages :—i. 31, 18 ; i. 37, 4 ; i. 61, 16 ; i. 62, 13 ; i. 80, 16 ; i. 117, 25 ; i. 152, 5, 7 ; i. 165, 14 ; ii. 18, 7 ; ii. 23, 1, 2 ; ii. 34, 6 ; ii. 39, 8 ; iii. 18, 3 ; iii. 29, 15 ; iii. 51, 6 ; iii. 53, 12 ; iv. 6, 11 ; iv. 16, 20, 21 ; iv. 22, 1 ; iv. 36, 7 ; v. 29, 15 ; v. 40, 6 ; v. 73, 10 ; v. 85, 1 ; vi. 17, 13 ; vi. 23, 1, 5 ; vi. 38, 3, 4 ; vi. 47, 14 ; vi. 50, 6 ; vi. 52, 2, 3 ; vi. 69, 4, 7 ; vi. 75, 19 ; vii. 22, 3, 9 ; vii. 28, 1, 2, 5 ; vii. 31, 11 ; vii. 33, 3, 4 ; vii. 35, 7, 14 ; vii. 37, 4 ; vii. 61,2,6 ; vii. 70, 6 ; vii. 72, 3, 4 ; vii. 83, 4 ; vii. 97, 3, 9 ; vii. 103, 8 ; viii. 4, 2 ; viii. 32, 27 ; viii. 51, 4 ; viii. 52, 2 ; viii. 55, 11 ; viii. 78, 3 ; viii. 87, 8 ; x. 13, 1 ; x. 54, 6 ; x. 61, 1, 7 ; x. 80, 7 ; x. 89, 3 ; x. 114, 8. That in these passages *brahma* has generally the sense of hymn or prayer is clear from the context of some of them (as in i. 37, 4 ; viii. 32, 27, where *brahma* is joined with the verb *gayata* "sing," and in vi. 69, 7, where the gods are supplicated to hear it), as well as from the fact that the poets are said (in i. 62, 13 ; v. 73, 10 ; vii. 22, 9 ; vii. 31, 11 ; x. 80, 7) to have fashioned or generated it, in the same way as they are said to have fashioned or generated hymns in other texts (as i. 109, 1 ; v. 2, 11 ; vii. 15, 4 ; viii. 77, 4 ; x. 23, 6 ; x. 39, 14), where the sense is indisputable ; while in other places (iv. 16, 21 ; v. 29, 15 ; vi. 17, 13 ; vi. 50, 6 ; vii. 61, 6 ; x. 89, 3) new productions of the poets are spoken of under the appellation of *brahma*.

That *brahma* has the sense of hymn or prayer is also shown by the two following passages. In vii. 26, 1, it is said : "Soma not poured out does not exhilarate Indra ; nor do libations without hymns (*abrahmanah = stotra-hinah*, Sayana). I generate for him a hymn (*uktha*) which he will love, so that like a man may hear our new (production). 2. At each hymn (*uktha*) the soma exhilarates Indra, at each psalm (*nitha*) the libations (exhilarate) Maghavat, when the worshippers united, with one effort invoke him for help, as sons do a father."* Again in

* It is clear from the context of this passage that *abrahmanah* means "unattended by hymns," and not "without a priest." After saying that soma-libations without hymns are unacceptable to Indra, the poet does

x. 105, 8 : "Drive away our calamities. With a hymn (*rcha*) may we slay the men who are hymnless (*anrchah*). A sacrifice without prayer (*abrahma*) does not please thee well."

I have said that great virtue is occasionally attributed by the poets to their hymns and prayers; and this is true of those sacred texts when called by the name of *brahma*, as well as when they receive other appellations, such as *mantra*. Thus it is said, iii. 53, 12, "This prayer (*brahma*) of Visvamitra protects the tribe of Bharata;" v. 40, 6, "Atri with the fourth prayer (*brahmana*) discovered the sun concealed by unholy darkness;" vi. 75, 19, "Prayer (*brahma*) is my protecting armour;" vii. 33, 3, "Indra preserved Sudas in the battle of the ten kings through your prayer, o Vasishthas." In ii. 23, 1, Brahmanaspati is said to be the "great king of prayers," and in v. 2 to be the "generator of prayers" (*jyeshtha brâhmanam*); whilst in x. 61, 7, prayer is declared to have been generated by the gods.

Brahman in the masculine is no doubt derived from the same root as brahman neuter, and though differing from it in accent as well as gender, must be presumed to be closely connected with it in signification, just as the English "prayer" in the sense of a petition would be with "prayer," a petitioner, if the word were used in the latter sense. As, then, *brahman* neuter means a hymn or prayer, *brahman* in the masculine must naturally be taken to denote the person who composes or repeats a hymn or prayer. We do not, however, find that the composers of the hymns are in general designated by the word *brahman*, the name most commonly applied to them being *rshi*, though they are also called *vipra*, *vedhas*, *kavi*, etc. (see "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iii. pp. 116 ff.). There are, however, a few texts, such as i. 80, 1; i. 164, 35; ii. 12, 6; ii. 39, 1; v. 31, 4; v. 40, 8; ix. 113, 6, etc., in which the priest (*brahma*) may perhaps be understood as referred to in the capacity of author of the hymn he utters. So, too, in ii. 20, 4 and vi. 21, 8, a new composer (or, perhaps, merely a new reciter) of hymns is spoken of under the appellation of *nutanasya brahmanyatah*; in ii. 19, 8, the Grtsamadas are spoken of both as the fabricators of a new hymn (*manma naviyah*) and as (*brahmanyantah*) performing devotion; while in another place (x. 96, 5) Indra is said to have been lauded by former worshippers, *purvebhir yajvabhih*,

not add that he is himself a *priest*, or that he is attended by one, but that he generates a hymn; and the same sense is required by what follows in the second verse.

a term usually confined (as *brahman* was frequently applied) in after times to the offerers of sacrifice. In three passages, vii. 28, 2; vii. 70, 5; and x. 89, 16, the *brahma* and *brahmani* "prayer" and "prayers" of the *rshis* are spoken of; and in vii. 22, 9, *rshis* are said to have generated prayers (*brahmani*). In i. 177, 5, we find *brahmani karoh*, "the prayers of the poet." The fact that in various hymns the authors speak of themselves as having received valuable gifts from the princes their patrons, and that they do not speak of any class of officiating priests as separate from themselves, would also seem to indicate an identity of the poet and priest at that early period. The term *brahman* must therefore, as we may conclude, have been originally applied (1) to the same persons who are spoken of elsewhere in the hymns as *rshi*, *kavi*, etc., and have denoted devout worshippers and contemplative sages who composed prayers and hymns which they themselves recited in praise of the gods. Afterwards, when the ceremonial gradually became more complicated, and a division of sacred functions took place, the word was more ordinarily employed (2) for a minister of public worship, and at length came to signify (3) one particular kind of priest with special duties. I subjoin a translation of the different passages in which the word occurs in the Rig-veda; and I have attempted to classify them according as it seems to bear, in each case, the first, second, or third of the senses just indicated. This, however, is not always an easy task, as in many of these texts there is nothing to fix the meaning of the term with precision, and one signification easily runs into another, as the same person may be at once the author and the reciter of the hymn.

I. Passages in which *brahman* may signify "contemplator, sage, or poet."

(In order to save the repetition of the word *brahman* in parenthesis after *priest*, I have put the latter word in italics whenever it stands for *brahman*).

i. 80, 1. "Thus in his exhilaration from soma juice the *priest* (*brahma*) has made (or uttered) a magnifying* (hymn)."

i. 164, 34. "I ask thee (what is) the remotest end of the earth; I ask where is the central point of the world; I ask thee (what is) the seed of the vigorous horse; I ask (what is)

* *Varddhanam=vrddhi-karam stotram* (Sayana).

the highest heaven* of speech. 35. This altar is the remotest end of the earth; this sacrifice is the central point of the world; this soma is the seed of the vigorous horse; this *priest* is the highest heaven of speech."†

ii. 12, 6. "He (Indra) who is the quickener of the sluggish, of the emaciated, of the suppliant *priest* who praises him," etc.

vi. 45, 7. "With hymns I call Indra, the *priest*,—the carrier of prayers (*brahma-vahasam*),‡ the friend who is worthy of praise,—as men do a cow which is to be milked."

viii. 16, 7. "Indra is a *priest*, Indra is a rishi,§ Indra is much and often invoked, great through his mighty powers."

x. 71, 11. (See the translation of the entire hymn below. The sense of *brahma* in v. 11 will depend on the meaning assigned to *jata-vidya*).

x. 77, 1. (In this passage, the sense of which is not very clear, the word *priest* appears to be an epithet of the host of Maruts).

x. 85, 3. "A man thinks he has drunk soma when the plant (so called) has been crushed. But no one tastes of that which the *priests* know to be soma (the moon). 16. The *priests* rightly know, Suryâ, that thou hast two wheels; but it is sages (*addhatayah*) alone who know the one wheel which is hidden. 34. The *priest* who knows Surya deserves the bride's garment."‖

x. 107, 6. "They call him a rishi, him a *priest*, reverend, a chanter of Sama verses (*sama-gam*), and reciter of *ukthas*,—he knows the three forms of the brilliant (Agni)—the man who first worshipped with a largess."

x. 117, 7. A *priest*¶ who speaks is more acceptable than one who does not speak."

x. 125, 5. "I (says Vach) make him whom I love formidable (*ugram*), him a *priest*, him a rishi, him a sage (*sumedham*)."

II. In the passages which follow the word *brahman* does not

* Compare R. V. iii. 32, 10; x. 109, 4, below, and the words, "the highest heaven of invention."

† Compare R. V. x. 71 and x. 125.

‡ Compare *v.* 19 and stoma-vahasah, iv. 32, 12.

§ Different deities are called *rshi*, *kavi*, etc., in the following texts: v. 29, 1; vi. 14, 2; viii. 6, 41; ix. 96, 18; ix. 107, 7; x. 27, 22; x. 112, 9.

‖ See Dr. Haug's Ait. Br., vol. i., Introduction, p. 20.

¶ The word here seems to indicate an order or profession, as the *silent* priest is still a priest.

seem to signify so much a "sage or poet," as a "worshipper or priest."

i. 10, 1. "The singers (*gayatrinah*) sing thee, the hymners (*arkinah*) recite a hymn, the *priests* (*brahmanah*), O Satakratu, have raised thee up like a pole."

(Compare i. 5, 8 ; i. 7, 1 ; viii. 16, 9. See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20).

i. 33, 9. "Thou, Indra, with the believers, didst blow against the unbelievers, with the *priests* thou didst blow away the Dasyu."

i. 101, 5. "Indra, who is lord of all that moves and breathes, who first found the cows for the *priest*, who hurled down the Dasyu."

i. 108, 7. "When, o adorable Indra and Agni, ye are exhilarated in your own abode, or with a *priest* or prince (*brahmani rajani va*),* come thence, ye vigorous (deities), and then drink of the poured out soma."

i. 158, 6. "Dirghatamas, son of Mamata, being decrepit in his tenth lustre, (though) a *priest*, becomes the charioteer of (or is borne upon) the waters which are hastening to their goal."

(Prof. Aufrecht understands this to mean that Dirghatamas is verging towards his end, and thinks there is a play on the word "charioteer" as an employment not befitting a priest).

ii. 39, 1. "Ye (Asvins) are like two vultures on a tree ; like two *priests* singing a hymn at a sacrifice."

iv. 50, 7 ff. "That king overcomes all hostile powers in force and valour who maintains Brihaspati in abundance, who praises and magnifies him as (a deity) enjoying the first distinction. 8. He dwells prosperous in his own palace, to him the earth always yields her increase,† to him the people bow down of themselves,—that king in whose house a *priest* walks first‡ (*yasmin brahma rajani purva eti*). 9. Unrivalled, he conquers the riches both of his enemies and his kinsmen—the gods

* A distinction of orders or professions appears to be here recognized. In v. 54, 7, a *rishi* and a prince are distinguished much in the same way as a *priest* and king are in i. 108, 7. Compare v. 14. In iii. 43, 5, reference is found to Visvamitra, or the author, being made by Indra both a prince and a rishi.

† Compare R. V. v. 37, 4 f.

‡ Compare viii. 69, 4 ; x. 39, 11 ; x. 107, 5 ; and the word *purohita*, used of a ministering priest as one *placed in front*.

preserve the king who bestows wealth on the *priest* who asks his assistance."*

(The benefits resulting from the employment of a domestic priest (*purohita*) are also set forth in A. V. iii. 19.)

iv. 58, 2. "Let us proclaim the name of butter (*ghrta*), let us at this sacrifice hold it (in mind) with prostrations. May the *priest* (Agni ?) hear the praise which is chanted. The four-horned bright-coloured (god) has sent this forth"

v. 29, 3. "And, ye Maruts, *priests*, may Indra drink of this my soma which has been poured out," etc.

v. 31, 4. "The men† have fashioned a car for thy (Indra's) horse, and Tvash*tr* a gleaming thunderbolt, o god greatly-invoked. The *priests*, magnifying Indra, have strengthened him for the slaughter of Ahi."

v. 32, 12. "I hear of thee thus rightly prospering, and bestowing wealth on, the sages (*viprebhyah*). What do the *priests*, thy friends, obtain who have reposed their wishes on thee, O Indra ?"

v. 40, 8. "Applying the stones (for pressing soma), performing worship, honouring the gods with praise and obeisance, the *priest* Atri placed the eye of the sun in the sky, and swept away the magical arts of Svarbhanu."

vii. 7, 5. "The chosen bearer (of oblations), Agni, the *priest*, having arrived, has sat down in a mortal's abode, the upholder."

vii. 33, 11. "And thou, o Vasishtha, art a son of Mitra and Varuna (or a Maitravaruna-priest), born, o *priest*, from the soul of Urvas*i*. All the gods placed in the vessel thee, the drop which had fallen through divine contemplation."

vii. 42, 1. "The *priests*, the Angirases, have arrived," etc.

viii. 7, 20. "Where now, bountiful (Maruts), are ye exhilarated, with the sacrificial grass spread beneath you ? What *priest* is serving you ?"

viii. 17, 2 f. "Thy tawny steeds with flowing manes, yoked by prayer (*brahma-yuja*),‡ bring thee hither, Indra : listen to our prayers. 3. We *priests*, offerers of soma, bringing oblations, continually invoke the drinker of soma."

* See on this passage Roth's Art. on Brahma and the Brahmans, *Journ. Germ. Or. Soc.*, i. 77 ff. See also Aitareya Brahmana, viii. 26.

† *R*bhus ?

‡ Compare viii. 45, 39, below.

viii. 31, 1. "That *priest* is beloved of Indra who worships, sacrifices, pours out libations, and cooks offerings."

viii. 32, 16. "There is not now any debt due by the active *priests* who pour out libations. Soma has not been drunk without an equivalent."

viii. 33, 10. "Look downward, not upward; keep thy feet close together; let them not see those parts which should be covered; thou, a *priest*, hast become a woman."

"viii. 45, 39. "I seize these thy tawny steeds, yoked by our hymn (*vacho-yuja*) to a splendid chariot, since thou didst give (wealth) to the *priests*."

viii. 53, 7. "Where is that vigorous, youthful, large-necked, unconquered (Indra)? What *priest* serves him?"

viii. 66, 5. "Indra clove the Gandharva in the bottomless mists, for the prosperity of the *priests*."

viii. 81, 30. "Be not, o lord of riches (Indra), sluggish like a *priest*.* Be exhilarated by the libation mixed with milk."

viii. 85, 5. "When, Indra, thou seizest in thine arms the thunderbolt which brings down pride, in order to slay Ahi, the (aerial) hills and the cows utter their voice, and the *priests* draw near to thee."

ix. 96, 6. "Soma, resounding, overflows the filter, he who is *priest* among the gods, leader among poets, rishi among the wise, buffalo among wild beasts, falcon among kites, an axe among the woods."

ix. 112, 1. "Various are the thoughts and endeavours of us different men. The carpenter seeks something broken, the doctor a patient, the *priest* some one to offer libations.

ix. 113, 6. "O pure Soma, in the place where the priest, uttering a metrical hymn, is exalted at the soma sacrifice through (the sound of) the crushing-stone, producing pleasure with soma, o Indu (soma) flow for Indra..

x. 28, 11. (The word *brahmanah* occurs in this verse, but the sense is not clear).

x. 71, 11. (See translation of this verse below, where the entire hymn is given).

x. 85, 19. "Put away that which requires expiation (?). Distribute money to the *priests*. 35. Behold the forms of Surya. But the *priest* purifies them."

* Dr. Haug (Introd. to Ait. Br. p. 20) refers to Ait. Br. v. 34, as illustrating this reproach. See p. 376 of his translation. This verse clearly shows that the priests formed a professional body.

x. 141, 3. "With hymns we invoke to our aid king Soma, Agni, the Adityas, Vishnu, Surya, and Brhaspati, the *priest*.

III. In the following passages the word *brahman* appears to designate the special class of priest so called, in contradistinction to *hotri*, *udgatri*, and *adhvaryu*.

ii. 1, 2 (=x. 91, 10). "Thine, Agni, is the office of *hotri*, thine the regulated office of *potri*, thine the office of *neshtri*, though art the *agnidh* of the pious man, thine is the office of *prasastri*, thou actest as *adhvaryu*, thou art the *brahman*, and the lord of the house in our abode. 2. Thou, Agni, art Indra, the chief of the virtuous, thou art Vishnu, the wide-stepping, the adorable, thou, o Brahmanaspati, art the *priest* (*brahma*), the possessor of wealth, thou, o sustainer, art associated with the ceremonial."

iv. 9, 3 "He (Agni) is led round the house, a joyous *hotri* at the ceremonies, and sits a *potri*. 4. And Agni is a wife (*i.e.* a mistress of the house) at the sacrifice, and a master of the house in our abode, and he sits a *brahman*."

x. 52, 2. "I have sat down an adorable *hotri*; all the gods, the Maruts, stimulate me. Day by day, ye Asvins, I have acted as your *adhvaryu*; the *brahman* is he who kindles the fire: this is your invocation."

I shall now bring forward the whole of the texts in which the word Brâhmana, meaning a son, or descendant, of a *brahman*, occurs in the Rig-veda.* They are the following:

i. 164, 45. "Speech consists of four defined grades. These are known by those Brahmans who are wise. They do not reveal the three which are esoteric. Men speak the fourth grade of speech."

This text is quoted and commented upon in Nirukta xiii. 9.

vi. 75, 10. "May the Brahman fathers, drinkers of soma, may the auspicious, the sinless, heaven and earth, may Pushan preserve us." etc. etc.

vii. 103, 1 (=Nirukta 9, 6). "After lying quiet for a year, those rite-fulfilling Brahmans the frogs have (now) uttered their voice, which has been inspired by Parjanya... 7. Like Brahmans at the Atiratra soma rite, like (those Brahmans) speaking round about the full pond (or soma-bowl), you frogs surround (the pond) on this day of the year, which is that of the autumnal

* There are two more texts in which the word *brahmana* is found, viz., i. 15, 5, and ii. 36, 5. The word *brahmaputra*, son of a brahman, is found in ii. 43, 2.

rains. 8. These soma-offering Brahmans (the frogs) have uttered their voice, performing their annual devotion (*brahma*); these adhvaryu priests sweating with their boiled oblations (or in the hot season) come forth from their retreats like persons who have been concealed."

x. 16, 6. "Whatever part of thee any black bird, or ant, or serpent, or wild beast has mutilated, may Agni cure thee of all that, and Soma who has entered into the Brahmans."*

x. 71, 1. "When, o Brhaspati, men first sent forth the earliest utterance of speech, giving a name (to things), then all that was treasured within them, most excellent and pure, was disclosed through love.

2. = Nirukta iv. 10). "Wherever the wise,—as if cleansing meal with a sieve,—have uttered speech with intelligence, there friends recognize acts of friendliness; good fortune dwells in their speech.

3. "Through sacrifice they came upon the track of speech, and found her entered into the rishis. Taking, they divided her into many parts :† the seven poets celebrate her in concert."

4. (= Nir. i. 19.) "And one man, seeing, sees not speech, and another, hearing, hears her not;‡ while to a third she discloses her form, as a loving well-dressed wife does to her husband."

5. (= Nir. i. 20.) "They say that one man has a sure defence in (her§) friendship; he is not overcome even in the conflict (of discussion). But that person consorts with a vain delusion who has listened to speech without fruit or flower."

6. "He who abandons a friend who understands friendship, has no portion whatever in speech. All that he hears, he hears in vain, for he knows not the path of righteousness."

7. "Friends gifted both with eyes and ears have proved unequal in mental efforts. Some have been (as waters) reaching to the face or armpit, while others have been seen like ponds in which one might bathe."

8. (= Nir. xiii. 13.) "When Brahmans who are friends strive (?) together in efforts of the mind produced by the heart,‖ they leave one man behind through their acquirements, whilst

* Compare A. V. vii. 115, 1 ff—xii. 5, 6.
† Compare x. 125, 3; i. 164, 45; (x. 90, 11); and A. V. xii. 1, 45.
‡ Compare Isaiah vi. 9, 10; and Matthew xiii. 14, 15.
§ *Vak-sakhye*, Yaska.
‖ Compare i. 171, 2; ii. 35, 2; vi. 16, 47.

others walk about boasting to be priests." (This is the sense Prof. Aufrecht suggests for the word *ohabrahmanah*. Prof. Roth *s. v.* thinks it may mean "real *priests*." The author of Nirukta xiii. 13, explains it as meaning "reasoning *priests*," or "those of whom reasoning is the sacred science.")

9. "The men who range neither near nor far, who are neither (reflecting) Brahmans nor yet pious worshippers at libations,—these, having acquired speech, weave their web imperfectly, (like) a female weaver,* being destitute of skill."

10. "All friends rejoice at the arrival of a renowned friend who rules the assembly; for such a one, repelling evil, and bestowing nourishment upon them, is thoroughly prepared for the conflict (of discussion)."

11. (Nir. i. 8.) "One man possesses a store of verses (*rcham*), a second sings a hymn (*gayatra*) during (the chanting of) the *sakvaris*; one who is a *priest* (*brahman*) declares the science of being (*jata-vidyam*), whilst another prescribes the order of the ceremonial.†

R. V. x. 88, 19 (=Nir. vii. 31). "As long as the fairwinged Dawns do not array themselves in light, o Matarisvan, so long the Brahman coming to the sacrifice, keeps (the fire), sitting below the hotri-priest."

x. 90, 11 (=A. V. xix. 5, 6; Vaj. S. xxxi.). "When they divided Purusha, into how many parts did they distribute him? What was his mouth? what were his arms? what were called his thighs and feet? 12. The Brahman was his mouth, the Rajanya was made his arms, that which was the Vaisya was his thighs, the Sudra sprang from his feet."

x. 97, 22. "The plants converse with king Soma,‡ (and say), "for whomsoever a Brahman acts (*krnoti*, officiates), him, o king, we deliver."

x. 109, 1. "These (deities), the boundless, liquid Matarisvan (Air), the fiercely-flaming, ardently-burning, beneficent

* Such is the sense which Prof. Aufrecht thinks may, with probability, be assigned to *siris*, a word which occurs only here.

† According to Yaska (Nir. i. 8), these four persons are respectively the *hotri*, *udgatri*, *brahman*, and *advaryu* priests. The brahman, he says, being possessed of all science, ought to know everything; and gives utterance to his knowledge as occasion arises for it (*jate jate*). See Dr. Haug's remarks on this verse. Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20.

‡ Compare *oshadhih Soma-rajnih*, "the plants whose king is Soma," in *vv.* 18 and 19 of this hymn.

(Fire), and the divine primeval Waters, first exclaimed against the outrage on a *priest* (*brahma-kilbishe*). 2. King Soma,* unenvious, first gave back the priest's wife; Varuna and Mitra were the inviters; Agni, the invoker, brought her, taking her hand. 3. When restored, she had to be received back by the hand, and they then proclaimed aloud, 'This is the *priest's* wife;' she was not committed to a messenger to be sent:—in this way it is that the kingdom of a ruler (or Kshattriya) remains secured to him. 4. Those ancient deities, the Rishis, who sat down to perform austerities, spoke thus of her, 'Terrible is the wife of the Brahman; when approached, she plants confusion in the highest heaven.† 5. The Brahmacharin (religious student) continues to perform observances. He becomes one member‡ of the gods. Through him Brhaspati obtained his wife, as the gods obtained the ladle which was brought by Soma. 6. The gods gave her back, and men gave her back; kings, performing righteousness, gave back the *priest's* wife. 7. Giving back the *priest's* wife, freeing themselves from sin against the gods, (these kings) enjoy the abundance of the earth, and possess a free range of movement."

This hymn is repeated in the Atharva-veda, with the addition of ten more verses, which I subjoin.

Atharva-veda, v. 17.

(*vv.* 1-3 = *vv.* 1-3 of R. V. x. 109).

4. "That calamity which falls upon the village, of which they say, 'this is a star with dishevelled hair,' is in truth the *priest's* wife, who ruins the kingdom which is visited by a hare attended with meteors."

(*vv.* 5-6 = *vv.* 5-4 of R. V. x. 109).

7. "Whenever any miscarriages take place, or any moving things are destroyed, whenever men slay each other, it is the *priest's* wife who kills them. 8. And when a woman has had ten former husbands not Brahmans, if a *priest* (*brahma*) take her hands (*i.e.* marry her), it is he alone who is her husband. 9. It is a Brahman only that is a husband, and not a Rajanya, or a Vaisya. That (truth) the Sun goes forward proclaiming to the five classes of men (*panchabhyo mananebhyah*)."

(*vv.* 10-11 = *vv.* 6-7 of R. V. x. 109).

* Compare R. V. x. 85, 8 f., 40 f.
† See R. V. i. 164, 34, 35, above.
‡ See A. V. x. 7, 1 ff., 9, 26.

12. "His (the king's) wife does not repose opulent (*satavahi*) and handsome upon her bed, in that kingdom where a *priest's* wife is foolishly shut up. 13. A son with large ears (*vikarnah*) and broad head is not born in the house in that kingdom, etc. 14. A charioteer with golden neckchain does not march before the king's hosts (?)* in that kingdom, etc. 15. A white horse with black ears does not make a show, yoked to his (the king's) chariot in that kingdom, etc. 16. There is no pond with blossoming lotuses in his (the king's) grounds in that kingdom where, etc. 17. His (the king's) brindled cow is not milked by his milkmen in that kingdom, etc. 18. His (the king's) milch cow does not thrive, nor does his ox endure the yoke, in that country where a Brahman passes the night wretchedly without his wife."

I will now refer to a number of texts in which liberality to the authors of the hymns is mentioned with approbation.

Of these passages i. 125 ; i. 126 ; v. 27 ; v. 30, 12 ff. ; v. 33, 8 ff. ; v. 61, 10 ; vi. 27, 8 ; and vi. 47, 22 ff., may be consulted in Prof. Wilson's translation. The following are further instances :—

vii. 18, 22 ff. "Earning two hundred cows and two cars with mares, the gift of Sudas the grandson of Devavat and son of Pijavana, I walk about, as a priest does round a house, offering praises. 23. The four robust richly caparisoned brown horses of Sudas, the son of Pijavana, standing on the earth, carry me, son to son,† onward to renown in prepetuity." (See the translation of these verses in Roth's Litt. u. Geschichte des Weda, p. 100.) In i. 126, 3, and vi. 27, 8, also, the word *vadhumantah* is used as here, and is probably to be taken in the first of these passages of mares, and in the latter of cows, *vinsatim ga vadhumanto*, being "twenty bulls with their cows." The same sense of cows or mares is probably to be understood in viii. 19, 36. That the preceding passages refer to the females of bulls or horses is made likely by comparing viii. 57, 17, which will be quoted below. In viii. 46, 37, however, reference is distinctly made to the gift of a woman (*yoshana*).

viii. 3, 21. "(The horse?) which Indra, the Maruts, and Pakastlıaman, the son of Kurayana, gave to me, the most

* The word here in the original is *sunanam*, with which it is difficult to make any sense. Should we read *scnanam ?*

† *Tokam tokaya.* The sense is obscure.

brilliant of all, like (the sun) careering in the sky. 22. Pakasthaman gave me a tawny (horse) well broken in, and filling his traces, an indication of riches. 23. Like to which other ten swift steeds also bear the yoke, like those which carried the son of Tugra to his home. 24. Soul, food, body, raiment, the giver of vigour, and ornament—(all this Pakasthaman is). I celebrate him as the fourth liberal bestower of a tawny horse."

viii. 4, 19. "We have celebrated among the Turvasus the profuse riches, consisting of hundreds of horses (bestowed) at the festivals of Kuranga, at the distributions made by this powerful and fortunate king. 20. After sixty thousand pure cows,* I, a rishi, have driven away herds of cattle obtained by the Priyamedhas with faces upturned to heaven, through the prayers of the sacrificing son of Kanva. 21. Even the trees† rejoiced at my arrival, (exclaiming), 'they have obtained cows in abundance, they have obtained horses in abundance'."

viii. 5, 37. "May ye, Asvins, take notice of my new gifts, how Kasu, of the race of Chedi, has bestowed on me a hundred camels and ten thousand kine. 38. The people are prostrate beneath the feet of the descendant of Chedi, and the men about him are but leather-workers (before him), who presented to me ten kings brilliant as gold. 39. Let no one try to walk in the path which these Chedis tread. No sage is regarded as a more bountiful man (than this prince)."‡

viii. 6, 46. "I have received a hundred from Tirindara, a thousand from Parsu, the riches of the Yadvas. 47. They gave three hundred horses, ten thousand cows, to Saman the Pajra. 48. The exalted prince overpassed the sky, giving a yoke of four camels; he (overpassed) the Yadva tribe by his renown."

viii. 19, 36. "Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, the bountiful lord, the patron of the virtuous, gave me fifty females (cows or mares). 37. And while I was travelling.....at the ford of the Suvastu, Syava, the wealthy lord of the Diyas (or of gifts) brought three seventies."

* Sayana explains *nirmajam* as *nihseshena suddhanam gavam*. Roth leaves the word unexplained; and Prof. Aufrecht suggests *nirnijam*, "garments," as perhaps the true reading.

† Compare Psalm xcvi. 12.

‡ Or, "No one, (as) the sage expects, will (prove to be) a more munificent person."

viii. 21, 17. "Was it Indra who gave to me,the worshipper, all this wealth? or was it the blessed Sarasvati who gave this riches, or was it thou, Chitra? 18. King Chitra and other kings who (dwell) along the Sarasvati, diffused himself (over us) like Prajanya, in a shower, bestowing a thousand and tens of thousands."

viii. 24, 29. "May the gift of Narya reach the Vyasnas, offerers of Soma-libations, together with abundant wealth, in hundreds and thousands. 30. If any one, sacrificing, enquire of thee (o Ushas), wheresoever thou art engaged, where (he is), reply, 'This Vala dwells remote on the banks of the Gomati'."*

viii. 46, 21. "Let the ungodly man come forward who has received as large a present as this which Vasa, the son of Asva, has received at the break of to-day's dawn from the Prthusravas, the son of Kanita. 22. I have received the sixty thousand and ten thousand (appropriated to) the son of Asva, two thousand camels, ten hundreds of brown (mares), ten of (mares) with three ruddy spots, and ten thousand cows. 23, 24. Ten brown, impetuous, irresistible, swift, overbearing steeds of the bountiful Prthusravas, son of Kanita, cause the circumference of the chariot wheel to whirl round. Bestowing a golden chariot, he has shewn himself a most bountiful sage, and acquired the most extended renown.....30. As oxen approach the herd, so they draw near to me. 31. Then when he had called for a hundred camels from amongst the grazing herd, and two thousand among the white cattle, 32. I, the sage, received a hundred from the Dasa† Balbutha, the deliverer. These men of thine, O Vayu, protected by Indra, rejoice; protected by the gods, they rejoice. 33. Then that large woman is led away, covered with jewels, towards Vasa, son of Asva."

viii. 54, 10. "May the opulent prince, who bestows on me speckled cows with golden housings, never perish, o gods. 12. Over and above the thousand speckled cows, I received a bright, large, broad, shining piece of gold. 13. Men have exalted to the gods the renown of the grandson of Durgaha,‡ who was bountiful to me in (bestowing) a thousand (cows)."

* Compare the similar expressions in R. V. v. 61, 19.

† Roth, *s.v. dasa*, conjectures that instead of *dase*, the proper reading is here *dasan*, which would alter the sense to, "I received a hundred slaves from Balbutha."

‡ Langlois *in loco* refers for illustration of this to R. V. iv. 42, 8.

viii. 57, 14. "Near me stand six men in pairs, in the exhilaration of the Soma-juice, bestowing delightful gifts. 15. Of Indrota I received two brown horses, from the son of *Rk*sha two tawny, and from the son of Asvamedha two ruddy horses. 16. From the son of Atithigva (I received) horses with a beautiful car, from the son of *Rk*sha horses with beautiful reins, and from the son of Asvamedha horses of beautiful form. 17. Along with Putakratu, I obtained six horses with mares* from Indrota, the son of Atithigva. 18. Among these brown horses was perceived a bay mare with a stallion, and with beautiful reins and a whip. 19. May no mortal, however desirous of reviling, fasten any fault upon you, o ye possessors of food."

x. 33, 4. "I, a rishi, have solicited king Kurusravana, descendant of Trasadasyu, the most bountiful of sages. 5. Let me celebrate, at the (sacrifice), attended with a thousand gifts, (that prince) whose three tawny mares convey me excellently in a car. 6. Of which father of Upamasravas, the agreeable words were like a pleasant field to him who uttered them. 7. Attend, o Upamasravas, son (of Kurusravana), and grandson of Mitratithi—I am the encomiast of thy father. 8. If I had power over the immortals, or over mortals, my magnificent (patron) should still be alive. 9. The man even of a hundred years lives not beyond the period ordained by the gods ;† so hath (everything) continually revolved."

x. 62, 6. "The Virupas, who sprang from Agni, from the sky, Navagva, and Dasagva, who perfectly possesses the character of an Angiras, is elevated to the gods. 7. The sages (princes) in concert with Indra lavished a herd of cows and of horses. Men have exalted to the gods‡ the renown of me Ashtakarni, who bestowed a thousand. 8. Let this man now multiply; may he shoot up like a sprout, he who at once lavishes a thousand hundred horses for a gift. 9. No one equals him, as no one succeeds in grasping the summit of the sky.§ The largesses of the son of Savarna have been diffused as widely as the sea. 10. Yadu and Turva gave two robust bondmen to serve (me) with abundance of kine. 11. Let not this man, the leader of the people, who lavishes thousands, suffer calamity. Let his largesses go on vying with the sun. May the gods

* Sayana here understands *vadhumatah*, of mares, *vadavabhis tadvatah*.
† Compare R. V. viii. 28, 4 :
‡ Compare viii. 54, 12, above.
§ Comp. *S.* P. Br. xiii. 5, 4, 14.

prolong the life of the son of Savarṇa, from whom we, without fatiguing labour [or without cessation], have received food."

x. 93, 14. "I have spoken this (in praise) of Duhsima, Pṛthavana, Vena, and Rama,—a god among the magnificent,—who, having yoked five hundred (horses) for our benefit,—their (liberality) became renowned by (this) course. 15. Over and above this, Tanva straightway assigned, Parthya straightway assigned, Mayava straightway assigned (to us) here seventy-seven."

If we consider that the various texts which have just been quoted are the productions of the class whose pretensions they represent and whose dignity they exalt, and further, if we take into account the indications, supplied by various other passages which I shall cite below, of indifference to the gods and to their ministers manifested by the other sections of the community, we may think it necessary to make some deduction from the impression which we had at first received of the estimation in which the priestly order was held at the time when the hymns of the Rigveda were composed. But after every such allowance has been made, it will remain certain that the *brahman*, whether we look upon him as a sage and poet, or as an officiating priest, or in both capacities, was regarded with respect and reverence, and even that his presence was considered an important condition of the efficacy of the ceremonial. Thus, in i. 164, 35, the priest is described as "the highest heaven of speech;" in x. 107, 6, a liberal patron is called a rishi and a priest, as epithets expressive of the greatest eulogy; in x. 125, 5, the goddess Vach is said to make the man who is the object of her special affection a priest and a rishi; in vi. 45, 7; vii. 7, 5; viii. 16, 7; and ix. 96, 6, the term "priest" is applied honorifically to the gods Indra, Agni, and Soma; in iv. 50, 8, 9, great prosperity is declared to attend the prince by whom a priest is employed, honoured, and succoured; and in iii. 53, 9, 12; v. 2, 6; vii. 33, 2, 3, 5; and vii. 83, 4, the highest efficacy is ascribed to the intervention and intercession of priests.

Again, although the commendations which are passed in the hymns on liberality to priests have been composed by interested parties, and though the value of the presents bestowed has no doubt been enormously exaggerated, there is no reason to doubt that the ministers of public worship, who possessed the gift of expression and of poetry, who were the depositaries

of all sacred science, and who were regarded as the channels of access to the gods, would be largely rewarded and honoured.*

It is further clear, from some of the texts quoted above (ii. 1, 2 ; iv. 9, 3 ; x. 52, 2), as well as i. 162, 5, and from the contents of hymns ii. 36 ; ii. 37 ; ii. 43 ; and x. 124, 1,† that in the later part of the Vedic era, to which these productions are probably to be assigned, the ceremonial of worship had become highly developed and complicated, and that different classes of priests were required for its proper celebration.‡ It is manifest that considerable skill must have been required for the due performance of these several functions ; and as such skill could only be acquired by early instruction and by practice, there can be little doubt that the priesthood must at that period have become a regular profession.§ The distinction of king or noble and priest appears to be recognized in i. 108, 7, as well as in iv. 50, 8, 9 ; whilst in v. 47, 7, 14, a similar distinction is made between king and rishi ; and it is noticeable that the verse, in other respects nearly identical, with which the 36th and 37th hymns of the eighth mandala respectively conclude, ends in the one hymn with the words, "Thou alone, Indra, didst deliver Trasadasyu in the conflict of men, magnifying prayers" (*brahmani vardhayan*) ; whilst in the other the last words are, "magnifying (royal) powers" (*kshattrani vardhyan*), as if the former contained a reference to the functions of the priest, and the latter to those of the prince.

While, however, there thus appears to be every reason for supposing that towards the close of the Vedic period the priesthood had become a profession, the texts which have been quoted, with the exception of one (x. 90, 12) which will be further adverted to below, do not contain anything which necessarily implies that the priests formed an exclusive caste, or, at least, a caste separated from all other by insurmountable barriers, as

* It is to be observed that, in these eulogies of liberality, mention is nowhere made of Brahmans as the recipients of the gifts. In two places, viii. 4, 20, and x. 33, 4, a rishi is mentioned as the receiver. In later works, such as the Satapatha Brahmana, on the contrary, the presents are distinctly connected with Brahmans. Thus it is said in that work, ii. 2, 2, 6.

† See also i. 94, 6.

‡ See Prof. Müller's remarks on this subject, Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 485 ff. ; and Dr. Haug's somewhat different view of the same matter in his Introd. to Ait. Br., pp. 11 ff.

§ In regard to the great importance and influence of the priests, see Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 485 ff.

in later times.* There is a wide difference between a profession, or even a hereditary order, and a caste in the fully developed Brahmanical sense. Even in countries where the dignity and exclusive prerogatives of the priesthood are most fully recognized (as in Roman Catholic Europe), the clergy form only a profession, and their ranks may be recruited from all sections of the community. So, too, is it in most countries, even with a hereditary nobility. Plebeians may be ennobled at the will of the sovereign. There is, therefore, no difficulty in supposing that in the Vedic era the Indian priesthood—even if we suppose its members to have been for the most part sprung from priestly families—may have often admitted aspirants to the sacerdotal character from other classes of their countrymen. Even the employment of the words *brahmana* and *rajanya* in the Rig-veda does not disprove this. The former word, derived from *brahman*, "priest" signifies, as already intimated, nothing further than the son or descendants of a priest (the word *brahmaputra*, "son of a priest," is, as we have seen, actually used in one text),—just as the latter (*rajanya*) means nothing more than the descendant of a king or chief (*rajan*).

The paucity of the texts (and those, too, probably of a date comparatively recent) in which the word *brahmana* occurs, when contrasted with the large number of those in which *brahman* is found, seems to prove conclusively that the former word was but little used in the earlier part of the Vedic era, and only came into common use towards its close. In some of these passages (as in vii. 103, 1, 7, 8 ; x. 88, 19) the Brahman is merely alluded to as a priest, and in vii. 103, the comparision of frogs to Brahmans may seem even to imply a want of respect for the latter and their office.† In other places (i. 164, 45, and x. 71, 8, 9) a distinction appears to be drawn between intelligent and unintelligent Brahmans, between such as were thoughtful and others who were mere mechanical instruments in carrying on the ceremonial of worship,‡ which, however, certainly points to the existence of a sacerdotal class. In another passage (x. 97, 22) the importance of a Brahman to the proper performance of religious rites appears to be clearly expressed. In x. 109, where the words brahman (*passim*) and brâhmana (in *v.* 4) seem to be used interchangeably—the in-

* Dr. Haug's tract on the "Origin of Brahmanism," p. 5.
† See Müller's remarks on this hymn in his Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 494.
‡ In R. V. viii. 50, 9.

violability of Brahman's wives, the peril of interfering with them, and the blessing attendant on reparation for any outrage committed against them, are referred to in such a way as to shew at once the loftiness of the claims set up by the Brahmans on their own behalf, and to prove that these pretensions were frequently disregarded by the nobles. In x. 16, 6, the Brahmans are spoken of as inspired by Soma, and in vi. 75, 10, the manes of earlier Brahmans are reckoned among those divine beings who have power to protect the suppliant. But in none of these texts is any reference made to the Brahmans constituting an exclusive caste or race, descended from an ancestor distinct from those of the other classes of their countrymen. In fact, it is proved by one of the additions (cited above) which have been made in the Atharva-veda (v. 17, 8 f.) to one of the hymns just referred to (x. 10, 9), that, even at that later period when that addition was made, Brahmans had but little regard to the purity of the sacerdotal blood, as they did not intermarry with women of their own order only, or even with women who had previously lived single, but were in the habit of forming unions with the widows of Rajanyas or Vaisyas,* if they did not even take possession of the wives of such men while they were alive. Even if we suppose these women to have belonged to priestly families, this would only show that it was no uncommon thing for females of that class to be married to Rajanyas or Vaisyas—a fact which would, of course, imply that the caste system was either quite unknown, or only begining to be introduced among the Indians of the earlier Vedic age. That, agreeably to ancient tradition, Brahmans intermarried with Rajanya women at the period in question, is also distinctly shewn by the story of the Rishi Chyavana and Sukanya, daughter of king Saryata, narrated in the *Satapatha Brahmana*. See also the stories of the Rishi *Syavasva*, who married the daughter of king Rathaviti, as told by the commentator on Rig-veda, v. 61, and given in Prof. Wilson's translation, vol. iii. p. 344.

We have, however, still to consider the single text of the Rig-veda, x. 90, 11, 12, which seems at first sight to prove the existence of a belief in the separate creation of the four castes at the time when it was composed. A careful examination of the context in which these verses are found, or even of the

* That the remarriage of women was customary among the Hindus of those days is also shewn by A. V., ix. 5, 27 f.

verses themselves, will, however, I think, lead to the conclusion that the representation is allegorical, and implies no opinion regarding the literal origination of the four classes. It is not even said that the Brahman was produced from the mouth, the Rajanya from the arms, or the Vaisya from the thighs of Purusha; but that these classes formed respectively those members of his body. It is the Sudra alone who is asserted to have sprung from the part of the body with which he is associated—the feet.

It is further to be noticed that as this hymn probably belongs to the close of the Vedic age, no conclusion can, on any interpretation of its meaning, be drawn from it in regard to the opinion regarding the different classes which prevailed in the earlier portion of that era. Dr. Haug, it is true, denies that the hymn is comparatively modern. He thinks that there is no sufficient evidence to prove this, but that, "on the contrary, reasons might be alleged to shew that it is even old." He is of opinion that the hymn had been used at human sacrifices, which he considers to have been customary in the earliest Vedic period, though they were afterwards abandoned as revolting to human feelings ("Origin of Brahmanism," p. 5). Notwithstanding what is here urged by Dr. Haug, I cannot help agreeing with the opinion stated by other scholars, such as Colebrooke (Essays, i. 309, note; or p. 197 of Williams and Norgate's edition) and Max Müller (Ancient Sansk. Lit., p. 570 f.), that this hymn is of a later date than the great bulk of the collection in which it is found. As compared with by far the larger part of the hymns, it has every character of modernness both in its diction and ideas.

It is not denied that the hymns which we find in the Rig-veda collection are of very different periods. They themselves speak of newer and older hymns. So many as a thousand compositions of this sort could scarcely have been produced within a very short space of time, and there is no reason to imagine that the literary activity of the ancient Hindus was confined to the age immediately preceding the collection of the hymns. But if we are to recognize any difference of age, what hymns can we more reasonably suppose to be the oldest than those which are at once archaic in language and style, and naive and simple in the character of their conceptions; and on the other hand, what compositions can more properly be set down as the most recent than those which manifest an advance in speculative ideas, while

their language approaches to the modern Sanskrit? These latter conditions seem to be fulfilled in the Purusha Sukta, as well as in hymns x. 71; x. 72; x. 81; x. 82; x. 121; and x. 129. The pantheistic character of the opening parts of Purusha Sukta alone would suffice to demonstrate its comparatively recent date.

That even the legendary genealogies of the Puranas frequently assign to members of the four so-called castes a common origin, has been shown in my Sanskrit Texts, vol. i. chap. ii.; and for the evidence discoverable, both in the Rig-veda itself and in the epic poems and Puranas, that hymns were composed, and sacerdotal functions exercised, by persons who in later ages were called Rajanyas or Kshattriyas, as well as by Brahmans, I may refer to the same volume, pp. 86–151 where the stories of Visvamitra and Devapi are told.

In later times, when none but Brahman priests were known, it seemed to be an unaccountable, and—as contradicting the exclusive sacerdotal pretensions of the Brahmans—an inconvenient circumstance, that priestly functions should have been recorded as exercised by Rajanyas; and it therefore became necessary to explain away the historical facts, by inventing miraculous legends to make it appear that these men of the royal order had been in reality transformed into Brahmans, as the reward of their superhuman merits and austerities (see Sanskrit Texts, vol. i, pp. 95 ff., 148 ff). The very existence, however, of such a word as *rajarshi*, or "royal rishi," proves that Indian tradition recognized as rishis or authors of Vedic hymns persons who had belonged to Rajanya families. A number of such are named (though without the epithet of *rajarshi*) in the Anukramanika or index to the Rig-veda; but Sayana, who quotes that old document, gives them this title. Thus, in the introduction to hymn i. 100, he says: "*Rijrasva* and others, sons of Vrshagir, in all five rajarshis, saw this hymn in a bodily form (*sadeham suktam dadrsuh*). Hence they are its rishis (or seers)." The 17th verse of this hymn is as follows: "This hymn the Varshagiras, *Rijrasva*, with his attendants Amvarisha, Sahadeva, Bhayamana, and Suradhas, utter to thee, the vigorous, o Indra, as their homage;" on which Sayana repeats the remark that these persons were rajarshis. Ambarisha is also said to be the rishi of ix. 98. Again, "Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, a Rajarshi," is said by Sayana on R. V. iv. 42, to be the rishi of that hymn. In the 9th verse Trasadasyu is thus mentioned: "Puru-

kutsani worshipped you, o Indra and Varuṇa, with salutations and obeisances; then ye gave her king Trasadasyu, a slayer of enemies, a demigod." Similarly Sayaṇa says on v. 27: "Tryaruṇa son of Trivṛshṇa, Trasadasyu son of Purukutsa, and Aśvamedha son of Bharata, these three kings conjoined, are the rishis of this hymn; or Atri is the rishi." As the hymn is spoken by a fourth person, in praise of the liberality of these kings, it is clear they cannot well be its authors. However, the Hindu tradition of their being so, is good proof that kings could, in conformity with ancient opinion, be rishis. Trasadasyu and Trayaruṇa are also mentioned as the rishis of ix. 110.* The rishis of iv. 43 and iv. 44 are declared by Sayaṇa, and by the Anukramaṇika, to be Purumilha, and Ajamilha, sons or descendants of Suhotra. Though these persons are not said by either of these authorities to be kings, yet in the Vishṇu Puraṇa they are mentioned as being of royal race, and as grandsons of Suhotra, and according to Bhagavata P. a tribe of Brahmans is said to have been descended from the son of Ajamilha. In the sixth verse of iv. 44, the descendants of Ajamilha are said to have come to the worship of the Aśvins. The following hymns are said by tradition to have had the following kings for their rishis, viz.: x. 9, Sindhudvipa, son of Ambarisha (or Triśiras, son of Tvashṭṛ); x. 75, Sindhukshit, son of Priyamedha; x. 133, Sudas, son of Pijavana; x. 134, Mandhatṛ, son of Yuvanaśva; x. 179, Sibi, son of Uśinara, Pratardana, son of Divodasa and king of Kasi and Vasumanas, son of Rohidasva; and x. 148 is declared to have had Pṛthi Vainya as its rishi. In the fifth verse of that hymn it is said: "Hear, o heroic Indra, the invocation of Pṛthi; and thou art praised by the hymns of Venya." In viii. 9, 10, also, Pṛthi Vainya is mentioned among rishis: "Whatever invocation Kakshivat has made to you, or the rishi Vyaśva, or Dirghatamas, or Pṛthi, son of Vena, in the places of sacrifice, take notice of that, o Aśvins." Here Sayaṇa refers to Pṛthi as the "royal rishi of that name."†

I have observed above that the contents of R. V. x. 109 not only display the high pretensions of the priestly order,

* In the Vishṇu Puraṇa, Trayyaruṇa, Pushkarin, and Kapi are said to have been sons of Urukshaya, and the last of them to have become a Brahman. In the Matsya P., Trayyaruṇi, Pushkararuṇi, and Kapi are said to have all become Brahmans. (Wilson, V. P., p. 451, and note.)

† Even females are said to be authors of hymns or parts of hymns, as

but also indicate clearly that those pretensions were often disregarded by the ruling class. In fact, the hymns of the Rig-veda contain numerous references to persons, apparently of different descriptions, who were either hostile or indifferent to the system of religious worship which the rishis professed and inculcated. We find there a long list of condemnatory epithets applied to these persons, such as *adeva, adevayu, anindra, abrahman, ayajyu, ayajvan, anyavrata, apavrata, avrata, devanid, brahmadvish*, etc., etc.; *i. e.*, "godless," "destitute of Indra," "without devotion," "unsacrificing," "following other rites," "averse to religious rites, or to law," "without rites, or lawless," "revilers of the gods," "haters of devotion," etc. (i. 33, 3, 4; i. 51,8,9; i, 101, 2,4; i. 121, 13; i. 131, 4; i. 132, 4; i. 147, 2; i. 150, 2; i. 174, 8; i. 175, 3; ii. 12, 10; ii. 23, 4, 8, 12; ii. 26, 1; iii. 30, 17; iii. 31, 9; iii. 34, 9; iv. 16, 9; v. 2, 9, 10; v. 20, 2; v. 42, 9, 10; vi. 14, 3; vi. 49, 15; vi. 52, 2, 3; vi. 61, 3; vi. 67, 9; vii. 6, 3; vii 61, 4; vii. 83, 7; vii. 93, 5; viii. 31, 15 ff.; viii. 45, 23; viii. 51, 12; viii. 53, 1; viii. 59, 7, 10, 11; ix. 41, 2; ix. 63, 24; ix. 73, 5, 8; x. 22, 7 f.; x. 27, 1 ff.; x. 36, 9; x. 38, 3; x. 42, 4; x. 49, 1; x. 160, 4; x. 182, 3.) In most of these passages, no doubt, the epithets in question are connected with the words *Dasa* or *Dasyu*, which—whether we understand them of barbarous aboriginal races, then partially occupying the Punjab, or of the evil spirits with which the darkness was peopled by the lively imagination of the early Indians—certainly did not odinarily designate tribes of Aryan descent. But there are other texts containing denunciations of religious hostility or indifference, where no express reference is made to Dasyus, which may with more or less probability be understood of members of the Aryan community. Such are the following:—

i. 84, 7. "Indra, who alone distributes riches to the sacrificing mortal, is lord and irresistible: 7. When will Indra crush the illiberal (*aradhasam*) man like a bush with his foot? when will he hear our hymns?"

i. 101, 4. "Indra, who is the slayer of him, however strong, who offers no libations."

i. 122, 9. "The hostile man, the malicious enemy, who pours out no libations to you, o Mitra and Varuna, plants fever

Romasa daughter of Brhaspati, an utterer of hymns" (i. 126), Lopamudra (i. 179, 1), and Visvavara, of the family of Atri (v. 28).

in his own heart, when the pious man has by his offerings obtained (your blessing)."

i. 124, 10. "Wake, o magnificent Dawn (Ushas), the men who present offerings; let the thoughtless niggards (*panayah*)* sleep." (Comp. iv. 51, 3.)

i. 125, 7. "Let not the liberal suffer evil or calamity; let not devout sages decay; let them have some further term; let griefs befall the illiberal (*aprnantam*)."

i. 147, 2. "One man contemns (*piyati*), whilst another praises, thee. Reverent, I adore thy manifestation, o Agni."

i. 176, 4. "Slay every one who offers no oblations—though difficult to destroy†—who is displeasing to thee. Give us his wealth; the sage expects it."

i. 182, 3. "What do ye here, o powerful (Asvins)? Why do ye sit in the house of any man who offers no sacrifice, and yet is honoured? Assail, wear away the breath of the niggard (*paner asum*), and create light for the sage who desires to praise you."

i. 190, 5. Those persons who, flourishing, but wicked, regarding thee, o god, as a feeble being, depend upon thee who art gracious—thou bestowest nothing desirable upon the malignant, thou, o Brhaspati, avengest thyself on the scorner (*piyarum*)."

ii. 23, 4. "By thy wise leadings thou guidest and protectest the man who worships thee: no calamity can assail him who hates devotion (*brahma-dvishah*), and the queller of his wrath: this, o Brhaspati, is thy great glory."

ii. 26, 1. "The upright worshipper shall slay those who seek to slay (him); the godly shall overcome the ungodly; the religious shall slay in battle even him who is hard to conquer; the sacrificer shall divide the spoils of the unsacrificing."

iv. 24, 2. "In battle Indra bestows riches upon the man who offers prayers (*brahmanyata*) and libations.....5. Then some men worship the mighty (Indra); then the cooker of oblations will present his offering of meal; then Soma will abandon those who offer no libations; then (the impious) will be fain to worship the vigorous (god)."

* This sense of the word is confirmed by i. 33, 3, where the rishi says to Indra, "*ma panir bhur asmad adhi*, "Be not niggardly towards us."

† Roth, *s.v.* understands *dunasam* to mean "continually."

iv. 25, 5. "Dear is the righteous man, dear to Indra is the man who reveres him, dear is the worshipper, dear to him is the offer of soma. 6. This impetuous and heroic Indra regards as peculiarly his own the cooked oblation of the devout soma-offerer; he is not the relation, or friend, or kinsman, of the man who offers no libations; he destroys the prostrate irreligious man. 7. Indra, the soma-drinker, approves not friendship with the wealthy niggard (*revata panina*) who offers no libations. He deprives him of his riches, and destroys him when stripped bare, whilst he is the exclusive favourer of the man who offers libations and cooks offerings."

iv. 51, 3. "The magnificent dawns, appearing, have to-day aroused the liberal to the bestowal of wealth. Let the niggards (*panayah*) sleep in gloom, and the regardless in the midst of darkness. (Compare i. 124, 10.)

v. 34, 3 (=Nirukta vi. 19). "Whoever offers soma-libations to Indra, either in sunshine or darkness, becomes glorious. The mighty god drives away the ostentatious; the opulent god (drives away) the man who decks out his person, and is the friend of the degraded. (Yaska adds to these epithets of the objects of Indra's enmity that of *ayajvanam*, 'one who does not worship.') 4. Indra desires no support from five or from ten (allies); he consorts not with the man who offers no libation, however flourishing; but overwhelms, and at once destroys such a person, whilst he gives the godly man a herd of kine for his portion. 6.....The enemy of him who makes no libations, the promoter of him who offers libations, Indra, the terrible subduer of all, the lord, brings the Dasa into subjection. 7. He gathers together the goods of the niggard (*paneh*) to be spoiled; he allots to the sacrificer wealth beneficial for men. Every one who provokes his fury is deeply involved in difficulty."

v. 42, 7. "Praise the first depositary of gems, Brhaspati, the bestower of riches, who is most propitious to the man that hymns and lauds him, who comes with abundant wealth to the man that invokes him. 8. Those who are attended by thy succours, Brhaspati, are unharmed, affluent, rich in men. The possessions of those who bestow horses, cows, and raiment, are blest. 9. Make unblest the wealth of those who enjoy themselves while they do not gratify (thee) with our hymns.* Drive away from the sunlight those haters of de-

* Or, according to Sayana, "who do not satisfy us who are possessed of laudatory hymns."

votion (*brahma-dvishah*) who are averse to religious rites, while they increase in progeny. 10. Hasten, o Maruts, without wheels* against the man who attends at the sacrifice of a Rakshas (or sinner). He who reviles the man who celebrates your service secures but contemptible pleasures, however much he may sweat."

vi. 13, 3. "That lord of the virtuous by his power destroys Vritra (or the enemy); o wise Agni, offspring of the ceremonial, that sage whom thou in concert with the son of the waters prosperest with wealth, divides the spoil of the niggard (*panch*)."

vi. 44, 11. "Abandon us not, o vigorous god, to the destroyer; let us not suffer injury whilst we live in the friendship of thee who art opulent. Thy former bounties to men (are known); slay those who offer no libations; root out the illiberal (*aprnatah*)."

vi 52, 1. "By heaven or by earth I approve not that, nor by (this) sacrifice, nor by these rites. Let the strong mountains crush him; let the priest (*yashta*) of Atiyaja fall. 2. Whoever, o Maruts, regards himself as superior to us, or reviles our worship when performed, may scorching calamities light upon him; may the sky consume that hater of devotion (*brahma-dvisham*).† 3. Why, o Soma, do they call thee the protector of devotion, or our preserver from imprecations? Why doest thou see us reviled? Hurl thy burning bolt against the hater of devotion (*brahma-dvishe*)." (These verses perhaps refer to the struggles of rival priests. Professor Aufrecht renders the words *atiyajasya yashta*, by "he who tries to outdo us in sacrifices." Sayana, who is followed by Professor Goldstücker, makes *atiyaja* the name of a rishi. Professor Roth takes it to mean "very pious.")

vi. 53, 3. "Impel to liberality, o burning Pushan, even the man who wishes to give nothing. Soften‡ the soul even of the niggard (*paneh*). 4. Open up paths by which we may obtain food; slay our enemies; let our ceremonies be successful, o terrible god. 5. O wise deity, pierce the hearts of the

* *Achakrebhih*, easily, swiftly, noiselessly, suddenly. Compare the phrase *achakraya svadhaya varttamanam* in x. 27, 19, and *nichakraya*, viii. 7, 29.

† This verse occurs in a modified form in the A. V. ii. 12,6, but without any perceptible difference of sense.

‡ Or, "crush" (*vi mrada*).

niggards (*paninam*) with a probe; and then subject them to us. 6. Pierce them with a goad, o Pushan; seek (for us) that which is dear to the heart of the niggard (*paneh*); and then subject them to us. 7. Penetrate and tear the hearts of the niggards (*paninam*), o wise deity, and then subject them to us. 8 With that prayer-promoting probe (*brahma-chodinim aram*) which thou holdest, o burning Pushan, penetrate and tear the heart of every (such man)."

vii. 83, 4. "O Indra and Varuna, unrivalled with your weapons, slaying Bheda, ye preserved Sudas; ye listened to the prayers of these men in the battle; the priestly office of the Tritsus proved efficacious.....6. Both invoke you, Indra and Varuna, for the acquisition of spoil (as) in the conflicts where ye protected Sudas with the Tritsus, when he was assailed by the ten kings. 7. Ten unsacrificing (*ayajyavah*) kings did not, o Indra and Varuna, vanquish Sudas. The praises of the men who partake in the sacrificial feast were effectual; the gods were present at their invocations. 8. O Indra and Varuna, ye gave succour to Sudas when surrounded in the battle of the ten kings, where the devout white-robed Tritsus, with knotted hair, worshipped you with reverence and prayer."

[In the first verse of this hymn Indra and Varuna are said to have slain both the Dasa and Arya enemies of Sudas. His enemies were therefore in part Aryas, and the ten kings alluded to in the verses I have quoted were no doubt of this race. And yet it is to be observed that in *v.* 7 they are described as *ayajyavah*, "unsacrificing." If, therefore, this expression is to be taken literally, it would follow that these Aryan kings were not worshippers of Indra and Varuna. Perhaps, however, the epithet is only to be understood in a general way, as meaning "ungodly." If we are to take the indefinite word "both" (*ubhayasah*) in verse 6, as meaning "both the contending hosts," it would, indeed, result that not only Sudas but also the ten kings who were fighting against him offered supplications to the same gods; but this would seem to be in contradiction to the literal sense of the word "unsacrificing" in the following verse; and Sayana understands "both" to refer to Sudas and the Tritsus who were his helpers].

vii. 19, 1. "Who (Indra) bestows on the man who offers many libations the wealth of the family which does not worship (him)."

viii. 2, 18. The gods love a man who offers oblations; they

do not approve sleep. The active obtain delight." (Compare viii. 86, 3).

viii. 14, 15. "Thou, o Indra, a drinker of soma, who art supreme, hast scattered and destroyed the hostile assembly which offers no oblations."

viii. 31, 15. "Impetuous is the chariot of the godly man, and he is a hero in every battle. The sacrificer who seeks to please the gods overcomes the man who does not sacrifice. 16. Thou dost not perish, o sacrificer, nor thou, o offerer of libations, nor thou, o godly man."

viii. 45, 15. "Bring to us the wealth of the man who, being rich, but no sacrificer, refuses to present offerings..... 23. Let not violent fools, let not deriders insult thee. Love not the haters of devotion (*brahmadvishah*)."

viii. 51, 12. "Let us praise Indra truly, not falsely. Great destruction overtakes the man who offers no libations, whilst he who offers them has many lights."

viii. 53, 1. "Let our hymns exhilarate thee; give us wealth, o Thunderer. Slay the haters of devotion (*brahmadvishah*). 2. Crush with thy foot the niggards (*panin*), who bestow nothing;* thou art great; no one equals thee."

viii. 59, 7. "O long-lived god, the ungodly man shall not obtain food..... 10. Thou, Indra, lovest our rites; thou satiatest (? ironically) those who revile thee....." Perhaps these expressions may refer to the Dasas and Dasyu, who are mentioned in the context.

viii. 86, 2. "Bestow, o Indra, upon the worshipper who offers libations and gives presents, and not upon the niggard (*panau*), the horse and cow which thou possessest, as an undecaying portion. 3. Let the godless man who performs no rites, and sleeps an incessant sleep, destroy by his own acts† the wealth which sustains him; sever him from it."

x. 27, 1. "The impulse comes upon me (says Indra) to bestow (blessings) on the sacrificer who offers libations. I slay the man who utters no praises, who is an enemy of truth, a sinner, and empty."‡

x. 32. "May the (worshippers) who constantly bring thee

* In ix. 101, 13, we find *svanam aradhasam*, "the dog who bestows nothing."

† Compare viii. 18, 13.

‡ "Empty-handed," *abhum*, as explained by Böhtlingk and Roth *s.v.*

to the sacrifices slay the boasters (or talkers) who give no presents" (*vagvanān aradhasah*).

x. 38, 3. "Whatever godless man (*adevah*), whether Dasa or Arya, o much-lauded Indra, seeks after us to vanquish us, let these enemies be easy for us to overcome; through thee may we slay them in the conflict."

[This passage shows that Aryas as well as Dasas were charged with being deniers of the Aryan gods (compare vii. 82, 7); unless we are to consider the term "godless" as employed, as in modern times, to describe persons who were practically, though not theoretically, unbelievers. This latter view is confirmed by A. V. v. 8, 3, where an enemy plotting against the worshipper, and employing a *priest* (*v.* 5), is yet described as "godless."]

x. 42, 4....."Here the hero (Indra) takes for a friend the man who brings offerings; he desires no friendship with the man who pours out no libations."

x. 49, 1....."I (says Indra) bestow the earliest riches on the man who praises me: I have made for myself a hymn which magnifies me. I am the encourager of the man who sacrifices. I overwhelm in every conflict those who do not sacrifice."

x. 160, 4. "Whoever, loving the gods, offers libations of soma to Indra with an ardent soul, with his whole heart,—Indra does not give up his kine (to spoliation), but makes for him (the soma-libation) approved and pleasing. 4. That man is observed by Indra who, though rich, offers to him no libations of soma. Maghavat grasps him in his fist,* and slays the haters of devotion *brahmadvishah*) though unsolicited."

That the wealthy man here referred to is an Aryan is rendered probable by the tenor of the following text, where the rich man there alluded to after contemning Indra during a period of security, concludes by invoking the god when he has been terrified into devotion by the manifestations of his power and anger:

viii. 21, 14. "Thou takest not a rich man for thy friend. Drunkards contemn thee. When thou utterest a sound, and musterest (thy hosts), then thou art invoked as a father."† In

* See Prof. Goldstücker's Sanskrit Lexicon *s.v. aratni.*

† Compare the following additional passages:—i. 110, 7; i. 113, 18; i. 121, 13; i. 131, 4; i. 132, 4; i. 133, 7; i. 151, 7; i. 152, 2; i. 174, 6; vi. 22, 8; vi. 23, 2, 3, 9.

vi. 47, 16, Indra is said to be the enemy of the prosperous man *(adhamanadvit)*, probably an Arya who rendered him no service.

In two other passages we are even told that doubts were entertained by some in regard to Indra's existence; ii. 12, 5: "Have faith in that terrible being of whom men ask 'where is he?' and declare that he is not. He destroys the possessions of the foe, etc.....15. Thou art true, who being irresistible, continually providest food for him who pours out libations and cooks oblations."

viii. 89, 3. "Seeking food, present a hymn to Indra, a true hymn, if he truly exists. 'Indra does not exist,' says some one; 'who has seen him? whom shall we praise?' 'This is I, o worshipper (exclaims Indra), behold me here, I surpass all beings in greatness.'"

It seems evident from the preceding texts that the *parcus deorum cultor et infrequens* was by no means a rare character among the Aryas of the Vedic age, and that the priests found no little difficulty in drawing forth the liberality of their lay contemporaries towards themselves, and in enforcing a due regard to the ceremonials of devotion. It would even appear that the ministers of religion had to encounter a considerable amount of contempt and hostility from the ungodly, for such words as *brahmadvish*,* "hater of devotion," and *piyaru*, "despiser," which seem to be sometimes applied to irreligious Aryas, express something more than passive opposition. It may perhaps be further gathered from a few passages, which I shall now cite, that the recognized Aryan worship of the national gods, Agni, Indra, Varuna, etc., was not kept free from a certain admixture of demonolatry borrowed most probably from the aboriginal tribes; and it is indeed easy to conceive, or even a thing to be assumed as natural and necessary, that the religion as well as the language, manners, and customs of the Aryans should, in process of time, have undergone some modification from the close contact into which they must have been brought with these barbarous neighbours.

From the first text which I shall quote, and which is ascribed by tradition to the rishi Vasishtha, it seems that that distinguished personage himself had been accused, whether truly or

* This word *brahma-dvish* might mean either "hater of *priests*," or "hater of devotion," but in the R. V. it seems to have the latter sense.

falsely, of worshipping false gods, of familiarity with evil spirits, and the practice of devilish arts. A charge of this kind could scarcely have been made with any chance of being credited, unless such demonolatry was commonly known to have been practised either by him, or by other members of the same community. The passage referred to (R. V. vii. 104, 12 ff.) is as follows: "The intelligent man can easily discern, (when) true and false words contend together, which of them is true, and which of them is correct. Soma protects the former, and destroys untruth. 13. Soma does not prosper the sinner, nor the man who wields royal power deceitfully. He slays the Rakshas, he slays the liar, they both sleep in the fetters of Indra. 14. If I am either one whose gods are false, or if I have conceived of the gods untruly;—why art thou angry with us, o Jatavedas; let slanderers fall into thy destruction. 15. May I die to-day if I am a Yatudhana, or if I have injured any man's life. Then let him be separated from his ten sons, who falsely addresses to me (the words) 'o Yatudhana.' 16. He who addresses to me who am no Yatu* (the words), 'o Yatudhana,' or who (being) himself a Rakshas says, 'I am pure;'† let Indra slay him with his mighty bolt; let him sink down the lowest of all creatures." Sayaṇa in his note on v. 12 refers to a legend according to which a Rakshasa had taken the form of Vasishṭha, and killed a hundred sons of that rishi, and that these verses were uttered by Vasishṭha to repel the charge of his having been possessed by the demon. This legend, however, which was no doubt manufactured to explain the verses, does not in reality answer this purpose. And it would seem, as I have above assumed, that Vasishṭha, or the speaker in these verses, whoever he may have been, had been charged with worshipping false gods, and with being under the influence of demons; and that while repelling the accusation, he here retorts upon his accuser by calling *him* a Rakshas.

Again in vii. 34, 8, the rishi says: "I who am no Yatu (undemoniacal) invoke the gods; fulfilling (the ceremony) in due form, I offer a hymn." In another place‡ (vii. 21, 5) it is said: "Neither, o Indra, have Yatus inspired

* Roth *s.v.* explains the word *ayatu* as meaning, "not demoniacal, free from demoniacal (magic)." Goldstücker *s.v.* defines the word "a no-demon, a being different from, or the reverse of, a fiend."

† See Prof. Goldstücker's Dict. *s.v. ayatu.*

‡ Quoted with its context in Sanskrit Texts, iv. 345.

us.....* Let the lord (Indra) triumph over the hostile race; let no priapic (or long-tailed) demons,† approach our ceremony."

In vi. 62, 8, a person characterized as *rakshoyuj* is devoted to the vengeance of the gods. The commentator explains the term as either "the lord, or the instigator, of demons, or a priest possessed of, or by, demons" (Rakshases).

In vii. 85, 1, the word *arakshas* is used in a sense perhaps akin to that of *ayatu*: "I consecrate (or polish, *punishe*) for you twain an undemoniacal (*arakshasam*) hymn, offering a libation of soma to Indra and Varuna." The same word is also employed in viii. 90, 8, where the Asvins are thus addressed: "Since we offer to you an undemoniacal gift (*ratim arakshasam*)," etc. Compare ii. 10, 5; v. 87, 9.

If we should assign to the words *Rakshaso devavitau* in R. V. v. 42, 10 (a passage quoted above), the sense of "the sacrifice offered to a Rakshas," the preceding conclusions would be still further confirmed.

If such demonolatry really existed to any extent among the Aryas, it is quite conceivable (I throw this out as a mere conjecture), that the intense hatred of the evil spirits whom, under the appellations of Yatudhanas, Rakshases, Asuras, etc., Agni, Indra, and other deities, are so frequently represented in the R. V. (i. 133; iii. 15, 1; vii. 13, 1; vii. 15, 10; vii. 104; viii. 23, 13; viii. 43, 26; x. 87; x. 187, 3, etc.) as destroying or chasing away from the sacrifices which they disturbed and polluted (vii. 104, 18; x. 87, 9, 11), may not have been inspired by the dread which the superstitious worshippers entertained of those goblins, so much as by the fact that they were rival objects of adoration for whom their votaries claimed a share in the oblations, whilst the adherents of the gods described their patrons as triumphing by their superior power over the hostile intruders, and their magical arts (vii. 104,20,21,24; x. 87,19).‡

Is it possible to look upon Rudra as having been originally a demon worshipped by the aborigines as the lord of evil spirits,

* The sense of the following words *na vandana vedyabhih* is obscure.

† *Sisnadevah.* The same word occurs in x. 99, 3.

‡ Perhaps, however, it is unnecessary to resort to this supposition in order to account for the dread and hatred of Rakshases which prevailed in the Vedic age. Such horror and hatred of demons appear to be natural to men in a certain stage of civilization. See Lecky's History of the Rise and Progress of Rationalism, i. 17 f.

and subsequently introduced into the Aryan worship? And that he was then, as well as originally, supplicated to abstain from inflicting those evils of which he was regarded as the author, and flattered by being addressed as the great healer of those sufferings which had their origin in his malevolence? (See the reference made to the late Rev. Dr. Stevenson's paper on the "Ante-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus," and to Lassen's Ind. Antiq. in Sanskrit Texts, iv. 344). His malignant, homicidal, and cattle-destroying character (R. V. iv. 3, 6; i. 114, 10, Sanskrit Texts iv. 339), assimilates him to the Rakshases and Yatudhanas (though it is true that they are not, as he is, specifically described as the inflicters of disease and death); and he is described in the Satarudriya (Vaj. S. xvi. 8, 20), as having attendants (*satvanah*), while in A. V. xiii. 4, 27, all the Yatus are said to obey his commands, and in *v.* 25 of the same hymn he is declared to be death, and immortality, vastness (*abhvam*), and a Rakshas (*sa eva mrtyuh so 'mrtam so 'bhvam sa rakshah*); and in xi. 2, 30 f., reverence is offered to his wide-mouthed howling dogs, and to his shouting, long-haired, devouring armies. It is true that in the 11th verse of the same hymn he is asked to drive away dogs and shrieking female (demons) with dishevelled hair; that in A. V. iv. 28, 5, Bhava (a deity akin to, or identical with, Rudra) and Sarva are solicited to destroy the Yatudhana who uses incantations (compare x. 1, 23) and makes men mad; that in Vaj. 16, 5, Rudra is besought to drive away Yatudhanis; that in A. V. xi. 2, 28, Bhava is asked to be gracious to the sacrificer who has faith in the existence of the gods, and in *v.* 23 is said to destroy the contemners of the deities who offer them no sacrifice;—all of these latter traits being common to him with the other Vedic gods. If, however, Rudra really represents a god or demon borrowed by the Aryas from the aborigines, it was to be expected that when adopted by the former he would be invested with the general characteristics which they assigned to their other deities, and that his connection with the evil spirits, of whom he was originally the chief, should as far as possible be kept out of sight and ultimately forgotten.

It is ture that this theory leaves unexplained the connection of Rudra with the Maruts, in conformity with which he ought to be the god of tempests. But Rudra may be a composite character, and modified by the addition of heterogeneous elements in the course of ages.

There is no proof in the Rig-veda that the introduction of the worship of Rudra, even if it was more recent than that of the other Vedic gods, was met with any opposition. But we find there are hints that the adoration of the Rudras or Maruts was regarded as an innovation. These deities are described in many places as the sons of Rudra and Pṛśni, and might, therefore, be supposed to have had some connection with Rudra. In one passage, too, (R. V. vii. 56, 17), a cattle-destroying and homicidal character (*goha nṛha vadho vah*), akin to his, is ascribed to them. On the other hand, they are frequently represented as in close relation with Indra; and in fact it is almost inevitable that these deities of the tempest should be associated with the Thunderer, who could scarcely fulfil his function as dispenser of rain without their co-operation. But there are some hymns, viz., the 165th, the 170th, and the 171st, of the first Maṇḍala, in which Indra is introduced as regarding them with jealousy, and as resenting the worship which was paid to them. Thus in i. 160, 6 ff., he boasts that he is quite independent of their aid, while they reply that their assistance had been of importance to his success in battle. (Compare viii. 7, 31, and viii. 85, 7; iv. 18, 11). Again, in i. 170, Indra, who complains (*v.* 3) that the rishi Agastya was despising him and neglecting his worship, is besought (*v.* 2) to come to terms with the Maruts, and to associate with them at the sacrifice (*v.* 5); and in i. 171, 4, the rishi asks forgiveness from the Maruts, because, through dread of Indra, he had discontinued this sacrifice which he had begun in their honour. From all this it would seem as if the worshippers of Indra had entertained some objection to the adoration of the Maruts, and ascribed to the god the aversion to it which they themselves entertained. If there is any truth in the hypothesis that Rudra may have originally been a deity or demon who was introduced from the worship of the aborigines into that of their Aryan conquerors, the same may have been the case with the Rudras or Maruts, the sons of Rudra. Only, if this be the fact, these gods have been transformed in character in the course of their reception into the Indian pantheon, and rehabilitated by the ascription to them of different functions and milder attributes than those which belonged to them as deities, or demons of the aborigines.

The supposition which I have here made of the gradual transformation of Rakshases into deities, is illustrated by the story told in the Mahabharata of the Rakshasi Jarâ, who is

called a household goddess, and is represented as seeking to requite by benefits the worship which was paid to her. (See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 247).

I have already quoted from the Atharva-veda (v. 17) some evidence of the greater development which the Brahmanical pretensions had received subsequently to the age when the greater part of the Rig-veda was composed. Farther illustration of the same point may be found in the two hymns which follow the one just referred to, viz., A. V. v. 18, and v. 19, which have been already translated in my former paper, "Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig and Atharva Vedas," pp. 34 ff.). There is another section of the same Veda, xii. 5, in which curses similar to those in the last two hymns are fulminated against the oppressors of Brahmans. The following are specimens: "4. Prayer (*brahman*) is the chief (thing); the Brahman is the lord (*adhipati*). 5. From the Kshattriya who takes the priest's cow, and oppresses the Brahman, (6) there depart piety (*sunrta*), valour, good fortune, (7) force, keenness, vigour, strength, speech, energy, prosperity, virtue, (8) prayer (*brahman*), royalty, kingdom, subjects, splendour, renown, lustre, wealth, (9) life, beauty, name, fame, inspiration and expiration, sight, hearing, (10) milk, juice, food, eating, righteousness, truth, oblation, sacrifice, offspring, and cattle;—(11) all these things depart from the Kshattriya who takes the priest's cow. 12. Terrible is the Brahman's cow, filled with deadly poison.....13. In her reside all dreadful things and all forms of death, (14) all cruel things, and all forms of homicide. 15. When taken, she binds in the fetters of death the oppressor of priests and despiser of the gods." A great deal more follows to the same effect, which it would be tiresome to quote.

I subjoin some further texts of the Atharva-veda in which reference is made to priests (*brahman*) and Brahmans, and as I suppose these two words had by this period become nearly synonymous, there will no longer be any sufficient reason for separating the passages in which they respectively occur.

iv. 6, 1. "The Brahman was born the first, with ten heads and ten faces. He first drank the soma; he made poison powerless."

In xix. 22, 21 (=xix. 23, 30) it is similarly said: Powers are assembled, of which prayer (or sacred science, *brahman*) is the chief. Prayer in the beginning stretched out the sky. The *priest* (*brahman*) was born the first of beings. Who, then, ought to vie with the *priest?*"

A superhuman power appears to be ascribed to the priest in the following passages,—unless by *priest* we are to understand Brhaspati :—

xix. 9, 12. "May a prosperous journey be granted to me by prayer, Prajapati, Dhatri, the worlds, the Vedas, the seven rishis, the fires ; may Indra grant me felicity, may the *priest* (*brahman*) grant me felicity."

xix. 43, 8. "May the *priest* conduct me to the place whither the knowers of prayer (or of sacred science) go by initiation and austerity. May the *priest* impart to me sacred science."

The wonderful powers of the Brahmacharin, or student of sacred science, are described in a hymn (A. V. xi. 5), parts of which are translated in my paper on the progress of the Vedic Religion, pp. 347 ff.

And yet with all this sacredness of his character the priest must be devoted to destruction, if, in the interest of an enemy, he was seeking by his ceremonies to effect the ruin of the worshipper.

v. 8, 5, "May the *priest* whom these men have placed at their head (as a *purohita*) for our injury, fall under thy feet, o Indra ; I hurl him away to death" (compare A. V. vii. 70, 1 ff.).

Art. III. *On the Religion of the Vedas.*

[Read November 21, 1864].

In a passage which I have already quoted in my former paper on the Vedic mythology (p. 59) Yaska, the author of the Nirukta, informs us (vii. 5) that previous writers of the school to which he himself belonged (the Niruktas) reduced the deities mentioned in the Vedas to three—viz., "Agni, whose place is on the earth, Vayu or Indra, whose place is in the air, and Surya, whose place is in the sky;" and asserted that "these deities had severally received many appellations in consequence of their greatness, or of the diversity of their functions, as the names of *hotr, adhvaryu, brahman, and udgatr,* are applied to one and the same person [according to the particular sacrificial office which he happens to be fulfilling]." In the preceding section (vii. 4) Yaska goes still further and declares that "owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is celebrated as if it were many. The different gods are separate members of the one Soul." These, however, are the views of men who lived after the compilation of the Brâhmanas, at a period when reflection had long been exercised upon the contents of the hymns, and when speculation had already made considerable advances. In the oldest portions of the hymns themselves we discover few traces of any such abstract conceptions of the Deity. They disclose a much more primitive stage of religious belief. They are, as I have already attempted to show, the productions of simple men who, under the influence of the most impressive phenomena of nature, saw everywhere the presence and agency of divine powers, who imagined that each of the great provinces of the universe was directed and animated by its own separate deity, and who had not yet risen to a clear idea of one supreme creator and governor of all things (pp. 52-54). This is shown not only by the special functions assigned to particular gods, but in many cases by the very names which they bear, corresponding to those of some of the elements or of the celestial luminaries. Thus according to the belief of the ancient rishis, Agni was the divine being who resides and operates in fire, Surya the god who dwells and shines in the sun, and Indra the regent of the atmosphere who cleaves the clouds with his thunderbolts and dispenses rain.

While, however, in most parts of the Rig Veda, such gods as Agni, Indra, and Surya are not merely considered as distinct from one another, but are multiplied into a variety of separate divinities (as Jatavedas, Parjanya, Vishṇu, Savitṛ, etc.) there are other hymns in which a tendency to identification is perceptible and traces are found of one uniform power being conceived to underlie the various manifestations of divine energy. Thus in the texts quoted in my former essay (pp. 127 f.) Agni is represented as having a threefold existence; first, in his familiar form on earth; secondly, as lightning in the atmosphere; and thirdly, as the sun in the heavens. In other passages where the same god is identified with Vishṇu, Varuṇa, Mitra, etc. (see p. 130), it is not clear whether this identification may not arise from a desire to magnify Agni rather than from any idea of his essential oneness with the other deities with whom he is connectod (see also R. V. i. 141, 9; v. 3, 1; v. 13, 6). In another hymn, too, where Indra is represented as the same with Varuṇa (p. 104), the design of the writer may have been to place the former god on a footing of equality with the latter.

There are, however, other passages in the earlier books of the Rig Veda which suffice to show that the writers had begun to regard the principal divinities as something more than mere representatives or regents of the different provinces of nature. As I have already shown (pp. 80, 97 f., 115, 117, 128) Indra, Varuṇa, Surya, Savitṛ, and Agni are severally described (in strains more suitable to the supreme Deity than to subaltern divinities exercising a limited dominion) as having formed and as sustaining heaven and earth, and as the rulers of the universe;* and Varuṇa in particular, according to the striking representation of the hymn preserved in the A. V. iv. 16 (though this composition may be of a somewhat later date), is invested with the divine prerogatives of omnipotence and omniscience. Although the recognized co-existence of all these deities is inconsistent with the supposition that their worshippers had attained to any clear comprehension of the unity of the godhead, and although the epithets denoting universal dominion which are lavished upon them all in turn may be sometimes hyperbolical or complimentary,—the expressions of momentary fervour,—or designed to

* The same functions are ascribed to Vishṇu and to Rudra. See Sanskrit Texts, iv. pp. 84 and 338.

magnify a particular deity at the expense of all other rival objects of adoration, yet these descriptions no doubt indicate enlarged and sublime conceptions of divine power and an advance towards the idea of one sovereign deity. When once the notion of particular gods had become expanded in the manner just specified and had risen to an ascription of all divine attributes to the object of worship who was present for the time to the mind of the poet, the further step would speedily be taken of speaking of the deity under such new names as Visvakarman and Prajapati, appellations which were not suggested by any limited function connected with any single department of nature, but by the more general and abstract notion of divine power operating in the production and government of the universe.

It is in names such as these that we discover the point of transition from polytheistic to monotheistic ideas. Both these two terms, which ultimately came to designate the deity regarded as the creator, had been originally used as epithets of Indra and Savitr in the following passages:—R. V. iv. 53, 2, "Savitr, the supporter of the sky (and) of the world, the lord of creatures (*prajapati*)."* viii. 87, 2. "Thou, Indra, art most powerful; thou hast caused the sun to shine; thou art great, the universal architect (*visvakarman*), and the god of all (*visvadeva*)."†

I shall now adduce those passages of the Rig Veda in which a monotheistic or a pantheistic tendency is most clearly manifested. Of some of these texts I shall only state the substance, as I have formerly treated of them in detail elsewhere.

The following verse from a long hymn of an abstruse and mystical character (i. 164, 46), though considered by Yaska to have reference to Agni, and by Katyayana and Sayana (with perhaps more probability) to have Surya in veiw, may nevertheless be held to convey the more general idea that all the gods, though differently named and represented, are in reality one—*pollon onomáton morphé mía:* "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni; and (he is) the celestial well-winged Garutmat. Sages name variously that which is but one: they call it Agni, Yama, Matarisvan." (See Colebrooke's Ess. i. 26 f.; Weber's Ind. Stud. v. p. iv).

* So, too, Soma is called *prajapati*, "lord of creatures" (R. V. ix. 5, 9).

† So, too, in R. V. x. 170, 4, Surya is called *visvakarman* and *visvadevyavat*.

R. V. i. 89, 10 (quoted in my former paper, p. 69), suggests, on the other hand, a pantheistic sense, as it asserts all things to be the manifestations of one all-pervading principle: "Aditi is the sky, Aditi is the air, Aditi is the mother and father and son. Aditi is all the gods and the five classes of men. Aditi is whatever has been born, Aditi is whatever shall be born."* Reference will be made further on to the hymn in which Aditi is described as one of the great powers to which the creation is due.

In some of the representations of the character and functions of Tvash*tr*, the divine artizan, who shaped the heaven and earth, we have an approach to the idea of a supreme creator of the universe (see my former paper, p. 132).

There is a considerable variety in the methods by which the later poets of the R. V. attempt to conceive and express the character of the Supreme Being and his relations to the universe, as will be seen from the following details.

The 81st and 82nd hymns of the tenth book of the Rig Veda,† are devoted to the celebration of Vi*s*vakarman, the great architect of the universe; so that the word which, as we have seen, had formerly been used as an epithet of Indra, had now become the name of a deity, if not of the Deity. In these hymns Visvakarman is represented as the one all-seeing god, who has on every side eyes, faces, arms, and feet, who, when producing heaven and earth, blows‡ them forth with his arms and wings,—as the father, generator, disposer, who knows all worlds, gives the gods their names, and is beyond the comprehension of mortals. In one of the verses (the 4th) of the first of these hymns, the poet asks: "What was the forest, what was the tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth? Enquire with your minds, ye sages, what was that on which he took his stand when supporting the world?" This verse is repeated in the Taittiriya Brahma*na* ii. 8, 9, 7 (and comes in immediately after the end of R. V. x. 129, which is quoted in the same place). The compiler of the Brahma*na* replies to the question which the original poet, either from accident or igno-

* Compare Æschylus, fragment 443, translated by Prof. Müller, "Science of Language," ii. 441. The Taittiriya Brahma*na*, iii. 12, 3, 1, says that the self-existent Brahma is "son, father and mother."

† See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 4 ff.

‡ This image is repeated in R. V. x. 72, 2; and may have been borrowed from R. V. iv. 2, 17.

rance, had left unanswered, by saying: "Brahma was the forest, Brahma was that tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth. Sages, with my mind I declare to you, he took his stand upon Brahma when upholding the world."

Another name under which the deity is celebrated in the Rig Veda, with all the attributes of supremacy, is Hiranyagarbha. In the 121st hymn of the tenth book this god is said to have existed (or to have arisen, *samavarttata*) in the beginning, the one lord of all beings, who upholds heaven and earth, who gives life and breath, whose command even the gods obey, who is the god over all gods, and the one animating principle (*asu*) of their being." (See Sanskrit Texts iv. 13 ff.)

There is another hymn (R. V. x. 72; already quoted in my former paper, p. 72) in which the creation of the gods is ascribed to Brahmanaspati,* who blew them forth like a blacksmith; while the earth is said to have sprung from a being called Uttanapad; and Daksha and Aditi were produced from one another by mutual generation. The gods, though formed by Brahmanaspati, did not, it is said, come into existence till after Aditi, and appear to have had some share in the formation or development of the world.

This hymn is almost entirely of a mythological character, the only attempt at speculation it contains being the declaration that entity sprang from nonentity. The manner in which the author endeavours by the introduction of different names, and the ascription to them of various agencies, to explain the process of creation, forms a striking contrast to the sublime vagueness and sense of mystery which characterize the following composition (R. V. x. 129:†

"1. There was then neither nonentity nor entity: there was no atmosphere, nor sky above. What enveloped [all]? Where, in the receptacle of what, [was it contained]? Was it water, the profound abyss? 2. Death was not then, nor immortality:

* Brahmanaspati is elsewhere (R. V. ii. 26, 3) styled "the father of the gods," while Brhaspati (a kindred, if not identical, deity) is called "our father" (R. V. vi. 73, 1). And yet Brahmanaspati is himself said in R. V. ii. 23, 17, to have been generated by Tvashtr superior to all creatures. On the character of this god the reader may consult some ingenious remarks by Professor Roth in the first volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, pp. 72 ff., and Professor Wilson's notes to his translation of the Rig Veda, vol. i. pp. 41 and 43, and vol. ii. pp. 262 and 263.

† This hymn has been already translated by Mr. Colebrooke and Professor Müller, as well as in Sanskrit Texts, iv. 4.

there was no distinction of day or night. That One* breathed calmly, self-supported: there was nothing different from, or above, it. 3. In the beginning darkness existed, enveloped in darkness. All this was undistinguishable water.† That One, which lay void, and wrapped in nothingness, was developed by the power of fervour (*tapas*). 4. Desire (*kama*) first arose in It, which was the primal germ of mind; [and which] sages, searching with their intellect, have discovered in their heart to be the bond which connects entity with nonentity. 5. The ray [or cord,‡ which stretched across these [worlds], was it below or was it above? There were there impregnating powers and mighty forces, a selfsupporting principle beneath, and energy aloft.§ 6. Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent to the formation of this [universe]; who then knows whence it arose? 7. From what this creation arose, and whether [any one] made it or not,—He who in the highest heaven is its ruler, he verily knows, or [even] he does not know."

I am not in possession of Sayana's commentary on this hymn; but the scholiast on the Taittiriya Brahmana, in which it is repeated (ii. 8, 9, 3 ff.), explains it in conformity with the philosophical ideas of a later period. From such sources we have no right in general to expect much light on the real meaning of the ancient Vedic poets. The commentator in question, who is obliged to find in the words of the infallible Veda a meaning consistent with the speculations believed to be orthodox in his own age, interprets the first verse as follows, in terms which, indeed, after all, may not be far from correctly expressing its general purport: "In the interval between the absorption of the previous, and the production of the subsequent, creation, there was neither entity nor nonentity. The world at the time

* Compare R. V. i. 164, 6.

† In the M. Bh. Santip. 6812 ff. it is said that from the æther was produced water, "like another darkness in darkness;" and from the foam of the water was produced the wind.

‡ Professor Aufrecht has suggested to me that the word *rasmi* may have here the sense of thread, or cord, and not of ray.

§ Does this receive any illustration from R. V. i. 159, 2 (quoted in the former paper on Vedic Mythology, p. 54), which speaks of the "thought (*manas*) of the father" (Dyaus), and of the "mighty independent power (*mahi svatavas*) of the mother" (Earth)?

when, by possessing both 'name' and 'form'* it is clearly manifested, is designated by the word 'entity,' while a void which may be compared to such non-existing things as a 'man's horns,' etc., is called 'nonentity.' Neither of these states existed: but there was a certain unapparent condition, which from the absence of distinctness was not an 'entity,' while from its being the instrument of the world's production, it was not a 'nonentity.'"

A much older commentary on this verse, probably one of the oldest extant, is the following passage from the Satapatha Brahmana, x. 5, 3, 1: "In the beginning this [universe] was, as it were, nonentity. In the beginning this universe was, as it were, and was not, as it were. Then it was only that mind. Wherefore it has been declared by the rishi (in the verse before us), 'There was then neither nonentity, nor entity;' for mind was, as it were, neither entity nor nonentity. 2. Then this mind being created, wished to become manifested, more revealed, more embodied. It sought after itself; it performed rigorous abstractian. It swooned. It beheld 36,000 of its own fires," etc. Mind then creates voice, voice creates breath, breath creates eye, eye creates ear, ear creates action (or ceremony), and action creates fire.

These ideas of entity and nonentity seem to have been familiar to the Vedic poets, as in R. V. x. 72 (noticed above, and translated in my paper on the Vedic Theogony, p. 72), we find it thus declared (vv. 2, 3), that in the beginning nonentity was the source of entity: "In the earliest age of the gods entity sprang from nonentity; in the first age of the gods entity sprang from nonentity." In the Atharva Veda, x. 7, 10, it is said that both nonentity and entity† exist within the god Skambha; and in v. 25 of the same hymn; "powerful indeed are those gods who sprang from nonentity. Men say that that nonentity is one, the highest, member of Skambha." The Taittiriya Upanishad also (p. 99) quotes a verse to the effect: "This was at first nonentity. From that sprang entity."

The author of the Chhandogya Upanishad probably alludes

* These Vedantic terms *name* and *form* occur in the Atharva Veda, x. 2, 12:

† Another verse of the A. V. xvii. 1, 19, says: "Entity is founded (*pratishthitam*) on nonentity; what has become (*bhuta*) is founded on entity. What has become is based (*ahitam*) on what is to be, and what is to be is founded on what has become."

to some of these texts when he says (vi. 2, 1 f. Bibl. Ind. p. 387 f.) :* "This, O fair youth, was in the beginning existent (or entity) (*sat*), one without a second. Now some say, 'This was in the beginning non-existent (or non-entity) (*asat*), one without a second : wherefore the existent must spring from the non-existent.' 2. But how, O fair youth, he proceeded, can it be so? How can the existent spring from the non-existent? But, O fair youth, this was in the beginning existent, one without a second. That [entity] thought, 'Let me multiply and be produced.'"

There does not appear to be any discrepancy between the statement in R. V. x. 129, 1, "there was then neither nonentity nor entity," and the doctrine of the Chhandogya Upanishad, for in the second verse of the hymn, also, a being designated as the One is recognized as existing, which may be regarded as answering to the primal entity of the Upanishad ; while the original non-existence of anything, whether nonentity or entity, asserted in the first verse, may merely signify, as the commentator on the Taittiriya Brahmana explains, that there was as yet no distinct manifestation of the One. In like manner the A. V. x. 7, 10, 25 (quoted above), does not assert the absolute priority of nonentity, but affirms it to be embraced in, or a member of, the divine being designated as Skambha. The Chhandogya Upanishad has, however, a great appearance of being at variance with itself, iii. 19, 1 (*asad evedam agre asit tat sad asit*), and with the Taittiriya Upanishad, as well as with verses 2 and 3 of the 72nd hymn of the tenth book of R. V., above cited, which assert that entity sprang from nonentity. If these verses are to be taken literally and absolutely, we must suppose the poet to have conceived the different creative agents whom he names Brahmanaspati, Uttanapad, Daksha, and Aditi, to have sprung out of nothing, or from each other, or to be secondary manifestations of the entity which was the first product of nonentity. If, however, with the commentators, we take "nonentity" to denote merely an undeveloped state, there will be no contradiction.

The first movement in the process of creation as conceived in the hymn (R. V. x. 129) is this. The One, which in the beginning breathed calmly, self-sustained, is developed by the power of *tapas*, by its own inherent heat (as Prof. Müller ex-

* See English trans. p. 101 ; which I have not followed.

plains, Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 561), or by rigorous and intense abstraction (as Prof Roth understands the word ; see his Lexicon, *s.v.*) This development gave occasion to desire (Kama) which immediately took possession of the One, and is described as the first germ of mind, and the earliest link between nonentity and entity. The poet then goes on to speak of impregnating powers, and mighty forces, of receptive capacities, and active energies ; but confesses himself unable to declare how the universe was produced. The gods themselves having come into existence at a later stage of creation, were not in a position to reveal to their worshippers the earlier part of the process, of which they had not been witnesses. The very gods being at fault, no one on earth is able to say what was the origin of the world, and whether it had any creator or not. Even its ruler in the highest heaven may not be in possession of the great secret.

Such a confession of ignorance on the part of a Vedic rishi could not, however, be taken in its obvious and literal sense by those who held the Veda to have been derived from an omniscient and infallible source. And in consequence the commentator on the Taittiriya Brahmana is obliged to explain it away in the following fashion :

"There are certain persons who contemn revelation, and propound different theories of creation by their own reason. Thus the followers of Kanâda and Gautuma, etc., consider atoms to be the ultimate cause of the world. Kapila and others say that an independent and unconscious Pradhâna is the cause. The Madhyamikas declare that the world rose out of a void. The Lokayatikas say that the universe has no cause at all, but exists naturally. All these men are in error. Our hymn asks what mortal knows by actual observation the cause of the world ? and not having himself had ocular proof, how can any one say it was so and so ? The points to be declared are the material and instrumental causes of the universe, and these cannot be told. The reason of this impossibility is next set forth. Can the gods give the required information ? Or if not, how can any man ? The gods cannot tell, for they did not precede, but are subsequent to, the creation. Since the gods are in this predicament, who else can know ? The purport is, that as neither gods nor men existed before the creation, and cannot therefore have witnessed it, and as they are at the same time unable to conclude anything regarding it, from the absence of any other proper means of

knowledge or inference, this great mystery can only be understood from the revelation in the Vedas.

"The last verse of the hymn declares that the ruler of the universe knows, or that even he does not know, from what material cause this visible world arose, and whether that material cause exists in any definite form or not. That is to say, the declaration that 'he knows' is made from the stand-point of that popular conception which distinguishes between the ruler of the universe, and the creatures over whom he rules; while the proposition that 'he does not know' is asserted on the ground of that highest principle which, transcending all popular conceptions, affirms the identity of all things with the supreme Soul, which cannot see any other existence as distinct from itself."

The sense of this last clause is, that the supreme Soul can know nothing of any object external to itself, since no such object exists.

It would, however, be absurd to suppose that the simple author of the hymn entertained any such transcendental notion as this. He makes no pretension to infallibility, but honestly acknowledges the perplexity which he felt in speculating on the great problem of the origin of the universe.*

As a further illustration both of the more ancient and the later ideas of the Indians regarding the creation of the world, and the manner in which the supreme Spirit, previously quiescent, was moved to activity, I add another passage from the Taittiriya Brahmana ii. 2, 9, 1, with some of the commentator's remarks. The text of the Brahmana runs thus: "This [universe] was not originally anything. There was neither heaven, nor earth, nor atmosphere. That, being nonexistent (*asat*), thought, 'Let me be.' That became kindled (or practised rigorous abstraction, *atapyata*). From that heat (or abstraction) smoke was produced. That was again kindled (*atapyata*). From that heat fire was produced. "That was again kindled. From that heat light was produced." And so on,—flame, rays, blazes, etc., being generated by a repetition of the same process. (It may perhaps be considered that the manner in which the word *tapas* is used in this passage is favourable to the idea that in R. V. x. 129, 3, it signifies heat rather than rigorous abstraction).

Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 10. "From nonentity mind (*manas*) was

* Similar perplexity is elsewhere expressed on other subjects by the authors of the hymns. See Sanskrit Texts, iii. 177.

created. Mind created. Prajapati. Prajapati created offspring."

The commentator's explanation of the first part of this passage is in substance as follows: "Before the creation no portion existed of the world which we now see. Let such a state of non-existence be supposed. It conceived the thought, 'Let me attain the condition of existence.' Accordingly this state of things is distinctly asserted in the Upanishad: 'This was originally non-existent. From it existence was produced.' Here by the word 'non-existent' a state of void (or absolute nullity), like that expressed in the phrase 'a hare's horns,' is not intended; but simply a state in which name and form were not manifested. Hence the Vajasaneyins repeat the text: 'This was then undeveloped: let it be developed through name and form.' Earth, the waters, etc,, are 'name.' Hardness and fluidity, etc., are 'form.'" The words "undevelopsd" and "developed" are then defined, and Manu i. 5, is quoted in proof. The supposition that the passage before us can be intended to denote a void is uext contravened by adducing the text of the Chhandogya Upanishad above quoted, where that theory is referred to and contradicted. "In the Aitareya Upanishad (at the beginning) it is declared: 'Soul alone was in the beginning this [universe]. Nothing else was active.' Hence the negation in our text, 'This [universe] was not originally anything,' refers to the world, consisting of name and form, framed by the supreme Spirit, and is not to be understood absolutely. Designated by the word 'non-existent' (*asat*) because devoid of name and form, but still (really) existing (*sat*), the principle [called] the supreme Spirit, impelled by the works of the creatures absorbed in It, conceived a thought in the way of a reflection, 'Let me be manifested as existent in the shape of name and form.' As a man in a deep sleep awakes that he may enjoy the fruit of his works; so the thought of causing all living creatures to enjoy the fruit of their works arose in the supreme Spirit. Possessed by such a thought, that principle [called] the supreme Spirit, practised rigorous abstraction (*tapas*) as a means of creating name and form. Here *tapas* does not mean any such thing as the *krchhra* or *châudrâyana* penances, or the like; but denotes consideration regarding the particular objects which were to be created. Wherefore the Atharva Veda writers record the text, 'He who is omniscient, all-understanding, whose *tapas* consists of the knowledge.' From all the fact that this *tapas* has nothing of the character of any

penance, it is shown to denote the reflection of a being who though unembodied is yet omnipotent," etc., etc. "From the supreme God, being such as has been described, in conformity with his volition, a certain smoke was produced," etc., etc.

Another important, but in many places obscure, hymn of the Rig Veda, in which the unity of the godhead is recognized, though in a pantheistic sense, is the 90th of the tenth book, the celebrated Purusha Sûkta, which is as follows :

"1. Purusha has a thousand heads (a thousand arms, A.V.), a thousand eyes, and a thousand feet. On every side enveloping the earth, he transcended [it] by a space of ten fingers. 2. Purusha himself is this whole [universe], whatever has been, and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality, since through food he expands. 3. Such is his greatness; and Purusha is superior to this. All existing things are a quarter* of him, and that which is immortal in the sky is three quarters of him. 4. With three quarters Purusha mounted upwards. A quarter of him again was produced here below. He then became diffused everywhere among things animate and inanimate. 5. From him Viraj was born, and from Viraj, Purusha. As soon as born he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before.† 6. When the gods offered up Purusha as a sacrifice, the spring was its clarified butter, summer its fuel, and autumn the [accompanying] oblation. 7. This victim, Purusha born in the beginning, they immolated on the sacrificial grass; with him as their offering, the gods, Sâdhyas, and Rishis sacrificed. 8. From that universal oblation were produced curds and clarified butter. He (Purusha) formed those aerial creatures, and the animals, both wild and tame. 9. From that universal sacrifice sprang the hymns called *rich* and *saman*, the metres, and the *yajus*. 10. From it were produced horses, and all animals with two rows of teeth, cows, goats, and sheep. 11. When they divided Purusha, into how many parts did they distribute him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What were called his thighs and feet? 12. The brahman was his mouth; the Rajanya became his arms; the Vaisya was his thighs; the Sudra sprang from his feet. 13. The moon was produced from his soul (*manas*); the sun from his eye; Indra

* Compare A. V. x. 8, 7 and 13 : Compare also A. V. x. 7, 8, 9.

† See Bhâgavata Purana, ii. 6, 15 ff. There is a good deal about Purusha in the Brhad Aranyaka Upanishad. See pp. 217, 220–228, 233, 250, 252, 267, of Dr. Roer's Eng. transl.

and Agni from his mouth; and Vayu from his breath. 14. From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head arose the sky; from his feet came the earth; from his ear the four quarters: so they formed the worlds. 15. When the gods in performing their sacrifice bound Purusha as a victim, there were seven pieces of wood laid for him round the fire, and thrice seven pieces of fuel employed. 16. With sacrifice the gods worshipped the Sacrifice. These were the first rites. These great beings attained to the heaven where the gods, the ancient Sâdhyas, reside."

There are two other hymns of the R. V. besides the Purusha Sûkta in which the Deity is represented as either the agent, the object, or the subject of sacrifice. In x. 81,5, Visvakarman is said to sacrifice himself, or to himself; and in verse 6, to offer up heaven and earth. And in x. 130 (where, in verse 2, Puman may be equivalent to Purusha) it is said (verse 3) either that the gods sacrificed to the [supreme] god, or that they offered him up.*

In the Nirukta, x. 26,† a legend, having reference to R. V. x. 81, is quoted to the effect that Visvakarman, the son of Bhuvana, first of all offered up all worlds in a *sarvamedha*, and ended by sacrificing himself. And in the Satapatha Brahmana, xiii. 7, 1, 1, the same thing is related of the self-existent Brahma himself, who, finding that he could not by rigorous abstraction (*tapas*) attain to the infinitude which he desired, resolved to offer up himself in created things, and created things in himself, and having done this, attained to pre-eminence, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion. It is evident that the author of this passage had not attained to that clear conception of the self-sufficiency and omnipotence of a self-existent Being which later Indian writers acquired.‡

In the hymn before us the gods are distinctly said (in vv. 6, 7, and 15) to have offered up Purusha himself as a victim. And in the Bhâgavata Purana, ii. 6, 21–26,§ which is a paraphrase of this passage, Brahma is made to say that he derived the materials

* See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 7-9.

† Ibid., p 7. See also S. P. Br. xi. 1, 8, 2.

‡ The word *svayambhu* does not, however, always signify self-existence in the absolute sense. Thus Kasyapa is in A.V. xix. 53, 10, called *svayambhu*, and is yet said to have sprung from *Kâla* (time).

§ See Sanskrit Texts, iv. p. 9.

of sacrifice from Purusha's members, and immolated that being, the lord himself.

It is not very easy to seize the precise idea which is expressed in the latter part of this singular hymn, the Purusha Sûkta. It was evidently produced at a period when the ceremonial of sacrifice had become largely developed, when great virtue was supposed to reside in its proper celebration, and when a mystical meaning had come to be attached to the various materials and instruments of the ritual as well as to the different members of the victim. Penetrated with a sense of the sanctity and efficacy of the rite, and familiar with all its details, the priestly poet to whom we owe the hymn has thought it no profanity to represent the supreme Purusha himself as forming the victim, whose immolation by the agency of the gods gave birth by its transcendent power to the visible universe and all its inhabitants.*

The two following verses in the Vajasaneyi Sanhita refer to Purusha:

xxxi. 18 (= *Svetasvatara* Upanishad, iii. 8). "I know this great Purusha, resplendent as the sun, above the darkness. It is by knowing him that a man overpasses death. There is no other road to go."† (The Purusha Sûkta occupies verses 1–16 of the same section in which this verse is found.)

xxxii. 2. "All winkings of the eye have sprung from Purusha, the resplendent. Now one has embraced him either above, or below, or in the middle."

The A. V. contains a long hymn (x. 2) on the subject of Purusha, which does not throw much light on the conception of his character, but contains a number of curious ideas. The Deity being conceived and described in this hymn as the Man, or Male (Purusha)—the great archetype and impersonation of that active energy of which men are the feeble representatives upon earth—the poet has been led to imagine the object of his adoration as invested with a visible form, and with members analogous to those of the human frame; and he then goes on to speculate on the agency by which the different portions of Purusha's body could have been constructed, and the source from which he could have derived the various attributes through which he formed the universe and ordained the conditions under

* Dr. Haug's Pref. to Ait. Br. p. 73.
† Comp. A. V. vii. 53, 7.

which its several departments exist. The minute questions regarding the members of Purusha with which the hymn opens may have been suggested to the author by an observation of the curious structure of the human body, and by the wonder which that observation had occasioned. Throughout the hymn Purusha is not represented as a self-existing, self-sufficient Being, but as dependent on other gods for his various powers and attributes. The details are too tedious, and in some place too obscure, to admit of my giving them in full, but I shall state the substance, and adduce the most important parts more or less in extenso. The hymn begins thus:

"1. By whom were the heels of Purusha produced? by whom was his flesh brought together? by whom were his ancles, by whom were his fingers and his muscles, made? by whom the apertures of his body?.... ....2. From what did they construct his ancles below and his knees above?" After similar questions about his legs, thighs, trunk, etc., the author proceeds: "4. How many and who were the gods who joined together the chest and the neck of Purusha? how many formed his breasts, who his elbows? (?) how many connected his shoulders, and ribs?..... 6. Who opened the seven apertures in his head, these ears, nostrils, eyes, and mouth?....." "Whence," asks the poet (v. 9), "does Purusha bring many things pleasant and unpleasant, sleep, fear, fatigue, and various kinds of enjoyments? 10. How do suffering, distress, evil, as well as success and opulence, exist in Purusha?.....12. Who assigned to him form, magnitude, name,* motion, and consciousness, (13) and the different vital airs? 14. What god placed in him sacrifice, truth, and falsehood? Whence come death and immortality? 15. Who clothed him with a garment? who created his life? who gave him strength and speed? 16. Through whom did he spread out the waters, cause the day to shine, kindle the dawn, bring on the twilight? 17. Who placed in him seed, that the thread (of being) might be continued? who imparted to him understanding?.....18. Through whom did he envelop the earth, surround (or transcend) the sky, surpass by his greatness the mountains and all created things?.....24. By whom was this earth made, and the sky placed above? By whom was this expanse of atmosphere raised aloft and stretched across? 25. The earth was made by Brahma, and Brahma is placed above as

* Here, as above noticed, we have the *nâma* and *rûpa* of the Vedantists.

the sky. Brahma is the expanse of atmosphere raised aloft and stretched across. 26. When Atharvan joined together the head and the heart [of Purusha], air issued upwards from the brain in his head (?). 27. That head of Atharvan [is] a divine receptacle, closed up. Breath guards this head, and so do food and mind. 28. Purusha has pervaded all the regions which are extended aloft and across. He who knows the city (*pur*) of Brahma from which *Purusha* is named, (29) who knows that city of Brahma, invested with immortality, to him Brahma and Brahma's offspring have given sight, and breath, and progeny. 30. Neither sight nor breath abandons before [the term of natural] decay the man who knows the city of Brahma from which Purusha is named. 31. Within that impregnable city of the gods, which has eight circles (compare A. V. xi 4, 22) and nine gates, there exists a golden receptacle, celestial, invested with light. 32. Those acquainted with Brahma (divine science, or the Deity) know that living (*atmanvat*) object of adoration which resides in this golden receptacle with three spokes, and triple supports. 33. Brahma has entered into the impregnable golden city, resplendent, bright, invested with renown."

In the *S. P. Br.* xiii. 6, 1, 1 (see Sansk. Texts, iv. 25) the word Narayana is coupled with Purusha, and it is said that this Being desired to surpass all beings, and become himself the entire universe, and that he accomplished his object by celebrating the *Sarvamedha* sacrifice. Purusha Narayana is again mentioned in the same Brâhmana (xii. 3, 4, 1) as receiving instruction from Prajapati: "Prajapati said to Purusha Narayana, 'Sacrifice, sacrifice.' He replied, 'Thou sayest to me, Sacrifice, sacrifice. I have sacrificed thrice. By the morning oblation the Vasus came, by the mid-day oblation the Rudras came, and by the third oblation the Adityas came to my place of sacrifice, where I was.' Prajapati rejoined, 'Sacrifice; I will tell thee how thy hymns shall be strung like a gem on a thread, or as a thread in a gem.'"

In the following hymn of the A. V. (x. 7) the Supreme Deity appears to be celebrated under the appellation of Skambha (or Support). Though it is rather tedious, I shall translate it nearly in full, as these ancient guesses after truth no doubt contain the germ of much of the later speculation on the same topics. In the first part (vv. 1-6, 10-12) Skambha is considered (like Purusha, with whom he seems to be identified, v. 15), as a vast embodied being, co-extensive with the universe, and

comprehending in his several members not only the different parts of the material world, but a variety of abstract conceptions, such as austere meditation (*tapas*), faith, truth, and the divisions of time. He is distinct from, and superior to, Prajapati, who founds the worlds upon him (vv. 7, 8, 17). The thirty-three gods are comprehended in him (vv. 13, 22. and 27), and arose out of nonentity, which forms his highest member, and, as well as entity, is embraced within him (vv. 10, 25). The gods who form part of him, as branches of a tree (v. 38), do him homage, and bring him tribute (v. 39). He is identified with Indra (in vv. 29 and 30); and perhaps also with the highest Brahma who is mentioned in vv. 32-34, 36, and in the first verse of the next hymn, x. 8, 1. In verse 36, however, this Brahma is represented as being born (or, perhaps, developed) from toil and *tapas*, whilst in x. 8, 1, the attributes of the Supreme Deity are assigned to him. In compositions of this age, however, we are not to expect very accurate or rigorous thinking, or perfect consistency.

"1. In what member of his does rigorous abstraction (*tapas*) stand? in which is the ceremonial (*rta*) contained? In what parts do religious observance (*vrata*) and faith abide? In what member is truth established? 2. From what member does Agni blaze? from which does Matarisvan (the wind) blow [*lit.* purify]? from which does the moon pursue her course, traversing the mighty body of Skambha? 3. In what member does the earth reside? in which the atmosphere? in which is the sky placed, and in which the space above the sky? 4. Whither tending, does the upward fire blaze? whither tending, does the wind blow? Tell who is that Skambha to whom the paths tend, and into whom they enter. 5. Whither do the half-months, and the months, in concert with the year, proceed? Tell who is that Skambha to whom the seasons and other divisions of the year advance. 6. Whither tending do the two young females of diverse aspects, the day and the night, hasten in unison? Tell who is that Skambha to whom the waters tend and go? 7. Who is that Skambha on whom Prajapati has supported and established all the worlds? 8. How far did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest, and middle universe, comprehending all forms, which Prajapati created? and how much of it was there which he did not penetrate? 9. How far did Skambha penetrate into the past? and how much of the future is contained in his receptacle? How far did Skambha

penetrate into that one member which he separated into a thousand parts? 10. Tell who is that Skambha in whom the waters, divine thought (*brahma*), and men recognize worlds and receptacles [as existing], and within whom are nonentity and entity; (11) in whom rigorous abstraction (*tapas*), energizing, maintains its highest action (*vrata*), in whom the ceremonial, faith, the waters, and divine science are comprehended; (12) in whom, earth, atmosphere, sky, fire, moon, sun, and wind are placed; (13) in whose body all the thirty-three gods are contained;* (14) in whom the earliest Rishis, the Rik, the Saman, the Yajus, the earth, and the one Rishi reside; (15) that Purusha, in whom immortality and death are comprehended; who has the ocean within him as his veins; (16) that Skambha of whom the four regions are the primeval arteries, and in whom sacrifice displays its energy. 17. They who know the divine essence (*brahma*) in Purusha, know Parameshthin. He who knows Parameshthin, and he who knows Prajapati—they who know the highest divine mystery (*brâhmana*)† know in consequence Skambha. 18. Tell who is that Skambha of whom Vaisvanara (Agni) is the head, the Angirases the eye, and the Yatus (demons) are the limbs; (19) of whom, they say, divine knowledge (*brahma*) is the mouth, the Madhukasâ the tongue, and the Viraj the udder, (20) from whom they hewed off the Rik verses, and cut off the Yajus; of whom the Sama verses are the hairs, and the Atharvangirases (*i.e.* the Atharvaveda) the mouth.‡ 21. Men regard the branch of nonentity,§ which is prominent, as if it were paramount; and inferior men, as many as worship thy branch, regard it as an entity. 22. Tell who is that Skambha in whom the Adityas, Rudras, and Vasus are contained, on whom the past, the future, and all worlds are supported, (23) whose treasure the thirty-three gods continually guard. Who now knows the treasure which ye guard, O gods? 24. In whom, O gods, the knowers of sacred science (*brahma*) worship the highest divine essence (*brahma*). The priest (*brahmâ*) who knows these [gods] face to face will be a sage. 25. Mighty indeed are those gods who have sprung from

* See Dr. Haug's Essay on the sacred language of the Parsees, p. 233.

† See vv. 20, 33, and 37 of A. V. x. 8.

‡ Compare A. V. ix. 6, 1.

§ The sense of this verse is obscure, and it does not seem to be very closely connected either with what precedes or with what follows. I have adopted partly the rendering suggested by Professor Aufrecht.

nonentity. Men say that that nonentity is one, the highest, member of Skambha (compare v. 10 above). 26. Where Skambha generating, brought the Ancient (*purâna*) into existence, they consider that that Ancient is one member of Skambha, (27) in whose members the thirty-three gods found their several bodies. Some possessors of sacred knowledge know those thirty-three gods. 28. Men know Hiranyagarbha to be supreme and ineffable. Skambha in the beginning shed forth that gold (*hiranya*, out of which Hiranyagarbha arose) in the midst of the world. 29. In Skambha are contained the worlds, rigorous abstraction, and the ceremonial. Skambha, I clearly know thee to be contained entire in Indra. 30. In Indra are contained the worlds, rigorous abstraction, and the ceremonial. Indra, I clearly know thee to be contained entire in Skambha. 31. (The worshipper) repeatedly invokes the [god who bears the one] name by the name [of the other god] before the sun, before the dawn.* When the unborn first sprang into being, he attained to that independent dominion, than that which nothing higher has ever been. 32. Reverence be to that greatest Brahma, of whom the earth is the measure,† the atmosphere the belly, who made the sky his head, (33) of whom the sun and the ever-renewed moon are the eye, who made Agni his mouth, (34) of whom the wind formed two of the vital airs, and the Angirases the eye, who made the rigions his organs of sense (?) 35. Skambha established both these [worlds], earth and sky, the wide atmosphere, and the six vast regions; Skambha pervaded this entire universe. 36. Reverence to that greatest Brahma who, born from toil and austere abstraction (*tapas*), penetrated all the worlds, who made soma for himself alone.‡ 37. How is it that the wind does not rest? how is not the soul quiescent? why do not the waters, seeking after truth, ever repose? 38. The great object of adoration [is] absorbed in severe abstraction (*tapas*) in the midst of the world, on the surface of the waters. To him all the gods are joined, as the branches around the trunk of a tree. 39. Say who is that Skambha to whom, on account of his works (?), the gods with hands, feet, voice, ear, eye, present continually an un-

* The meaning of this, as suggested by Professor Aufrecht, is that by invoking Indra, the worshipper really worships Skambha.

† *Pramâ*. Compare, however, R. V. x. 130, 3.

‡ Such is the sense according to Roth, s. v. *kevala*.

limited tribute,* 40. By him darkness is dispelled: he is free from evil: in him are all the three luminaries which reside in Prajapati 41. He who knows the golden reed standing in the waters is the mysterious Prajapati."†

I quote in addition some verses from the hymn next in order, A. V. x. 8:

"1. Reverence to that greatest Brahma who rules over the past, the future, the universe, and whose alone is the sky. 2. These two [worlds], the sky and the earth, exist, supported by Skambha. Skambha is all this which has soul, which breathes, which winks.....11. That which moves, flies, stands, which has existed breathing, not breathing, and winking: that omniform (entity) has established the earth; that, combining, becomes one only. 12. The infinite extended on many sides, the infinite, and the finite all around—these two the ruler of the sky proceeds discriminating, knowing the past and the future of this (universe). 13. (=Vaj-San. 31, 19) Prajapati moves within the womb. Though unseen, he is born in many forms. With the half [of himself] he produced the whole world. What trace is there of the [other] half of him?.....16. I regard as the greatest That whence the sun rises, and That where he sets; That is not surpassed by anything.....20. He who knows the two pieces of firewood from which wealth is rubbed out—he so knowing will understand that which is the greatest; he will know the great divine mystery (*brâhmana*).....34. I ask thee regarding that flower of the waters in which gods and men are fixed as spokes in the nave of a wheel,—where that was placed by [divine] skill (*mâyâ*).....37. He who knows that extended thread on which these creatures are strung, who knows the thread of the thread,—he knows that great divine mystery (*brâhmana*). 38. I know that extended thread on which these creatures are strung. I know the thread of the thread, and hence, too, that which is the great divine mystery..... 44. The possessors of divine science (*brahma*) know that living object of adoration within the lotus with nine gates, which is enveloped by the three qualities (*gunas*). 44. Knowing that soul (*âtman*) calm, undecaying, young, free from desire, im-

* Compare A. V. x. 8, 15.

† In the R. V. x. 95, 4, 5 (compare Nirukta iii. 21), and *S.* P. Br. xi. 5, 1, 1, the word *vaitasa* has the sense of *membrum virile*. Are we to understand the word *vetasa* (reed) in the same sense here, as denoting a Linga?

mortal, self-existent, satisfied with the essence, deficient in nothing, a man is not afraid of death."

Some verses in the two preceding hymns speak of the highest, or greatest, Brahma, in whatever sense that term is to be understood.

I am unable to state whether Brahma in the sense of the supreme Deity occurs elsewhere in the Atharva Veda, unless it be in the following passage (xi. 8, 30 ff.): "The waters, the gods, Viraj (*feminine*) with Brahma [entered into man]. Brahma entered his body; Prajapati [entered] his body. Surya occupied the eye, and Vata the breath of the man. Then the gods gave his other soul to Agni. Wherefore one who knows the man thinks, 'this is Brahma;' for all the gods are in him, as cows in a cowhouse."

In the Vajasaneyi Sanhita xxiii. 47 f. we find the following words: "What light is equal to the sun? what lake is equal to the sea?" To which the following verse gives the answer: "Brahma (neuter) is a light equal to the sun. The sky is a lake equal to the sea." The commentator explains Brahma in this passage as standing either for the three Vedas or the supreme Brahma.

In *S.* P. Br. x. 6, 5, 9, it is stated in a genealogy of teachers that "Tura Kâvasheya sprang from Prajapati, and Prajapati from Brahma, who is self-existent." In another passage, already quoted, from the same work (xiii. 7, 1, 1) Brahma (in the neuter), the self-existent, is described as performing *tapas*, and as sacrificing himself. Ibid. x. 4, 1, 9, a verse is quoted from some hymn which begins, "I celebrate the one great imperishable Brahma who was and is to be."

Again, in the same work, xi. 3, 3, 1, the same being is represented as giving over other creatures, except the Brahmachârin, or religious student, to death. And in xi. 2, 3, 1 ff., there is another text, which is interesting not merely as introducing Brahma, but as containing what is probably one of the oldest extant expositions of the conception of *nâma* and *rupa* (name and form) as comprehending the whole of the phenomenal universe. These two words, as is well known, became at a later period technical terms of the Vedanta philosophy. The passage runs as follows:

"In the beginning Brahma was this [universe]. He created gods. Having created gods, he placed them in these worlds, viz.: in this world Agni, in the atmosphere Vayu, and in the sky Surya; and in the worlds which were yet higher he placed

the gods who are still higher. Such as are these visible worlds and these gods,—even such were those visible worlds in which he placed those gods, and such were those gods themselves. 2. Then Brahma proceeded to the higher sphere (*pararddha*—explained by the commentator to mean the Satya-loka, the most excellent, and the limit, of all the worlds). Having gone to that higher sphere, he considered 'How now can I pervade all these worlds?' He then pervaded them with two things, with form and with name. Whatever has a name, that is name. And even that which has no name—that which he knows by its form, that 'such is its form'—that is form. This [universe] is so much as is (*i.e.* is co-extensive with) form and name. 3. These are the two great magnitudes (*abhve*) of Brahma. He who knows these two great magnitudes of Brahma becomes himself a great magnitude. 4. These are the two great adorable beings of Brahma. He who knows these two great adorable beings of Brahma becomes himself a great adorable being. Of these two one is the greater, viz. form; for whatever is name is also form. He who knows the greater of these two becomes greater than him than whom he wishes to become greater. 5. The gods were originally mortal, but when they were pervaded by Brahma they became immortal. By that which he sends forth from his mind (mind is form; for by mind he knows, 'This is form')—by that, I say, he obtains form. And by that which he sends out from his voice (voice is name; for by voice he seizes name)—by that, I say, he obtains name. This universe is so much as is (*i.e.* is co-extensive with) form and name. All that he obtains. Now that all is undecaying. Hence he obtains undecaying merit, and an undecaying world."

Compare with this the passages of the Brhad Aranyaka Upanishad, which will be found at pp. 75 ff. and 165 ff. of Dr. Roer's translation (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. ii. part 3); and the Mundaka Upanishad, iii. 2, 8, p. 164, of English version.

Brahma is also mentioned in the following texts of the Taittiriya Brahmana:—ii. 8, 8, 9. "Brahma generated the gods. Brahma [generated] this entire world. From Brahma * the Kshattriya is formed. Brahma in his essence (*atman*) is the Brahman.† Within him are all these worlds; within him this

* Here there is an allusion to the other sense of *brahma* as the Brahman caste.

† "For," says the commentator, "in the Brahman's body the supreme Brahma is manifested."

entire universe. It is Brahma who is the greatest of beings. Who can vie with him? In Brahma the thirty-three gods,—in Brahma, Indra and Prajapati,—in Brahma all beings are contained, as in a ship." Again, it is said (iii. 12, 3, 1), "Let us worship with oblations the first born god, by whom the entire universe which exists is surrounded,—the self-existent Brahma who is the supreme austerity (*tapas*). It is he who is son, he who is father, he who is mother. Tapas came into existence, the first object of worship." Compare Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 9, 6 (quoted above), in which Brahma is said to be the forest and the tree out of which the worlds were constructed, and as the basis on which the creator took his stand when upholding the universe.

As I have observed above the word *prajâpati*, "lord of creatures," was originally employed as an epithet of Savitr and Soma, as it also was of Hiranyagarbha (R. V. x. 121, 10). It afterwards, however, came to denote a separate deity, who appears in three places of the Rig-veda (x. 85, 43; x. 169, 4; x. 184, 4) as the bestower of progeny and cattle. This god is also mentioned in the Vajasaneyi Sanhita, in a verse (xxxi. 19) which comes in after one in which the great Purusha is celebrated (see above). The verse is as follows: "Prajâpati works within the womb. Though he does not become born, he is yet born in many shapes. The wise behold his womb. In him all the worlds stand." Another verse in which he is referred to is this (xxxii. 5): "He before whom nothing was born, who pervades all worlds, Prajapati, rejoicing in his offspring, dwells in the three luminaries, as the sixteenth."

Prajapati is frequently alluded to in the A. V. Several of these passages have been already cited above, as x. 7, 7, 17, 40, 41; x. 8, 13. Some of the others which I have observed are the following: In xi. 3, 52, he is said to have formed thirty-three worlds out of the oblation of boiled rice (*odana*). In xi. 4, 12, he is identified with *Prâna*, or breath. In xi. 5, 7, he is said, along with Parameshthin, to have been generated by the Brahamcharin, or religious student. In xi. 7, 3, he is declared to exist in the *Uchhishta*, or remnant of the sacrifice. And in xix. 53, 8, 10, he is said to have been produced by *Kâla*, or time. Most of these passages will be quoted at length further on. It will be seen that in this Veda he is not generally regarded as the supreme or primal deity.

On the subject of Prajapati, I have elsewhere (Sanskrit Texts,

iii. 3 ; iv. 19-24, and 47-51) brought together a considerable number of passages from the *S.* P. Br., of which I shall here only repeat the substance, adding any further notices which occur elsewhere. Prajapati is sometimes identified with the universe, and described (in the same way as Brahma, or entity, or nonentity are in other places) as having alone existed in the beginning, as the source out of which the creation was evolved, *S.* P. Br. ii. 2, 4, 1; vii. 5, 2, 6 ;* xi. 5, 8, 1. In other texts, however, he is not represented as the source of creation, but only as one of the subsequent and subordinate agents, created by the gods (vi. 1, 1, 1 ff.), or as springing out of an egg generated by the primeval waters (xi. 1. 6, 1 ff.). He is elsewhere said to have offered sacrifice in order to produce the creation (ii. 4, 4, 1), or to have been himself half mortal and half immortal (x. 1, 3, 2 ; x. 1, 4, 1), mortal in his body, but immortal in his breath, or to have performed *tapas* for a thousand years, to get rid of sin or suffering (*pâpman*, x. 4, 4, 1).

Prajapati may thus be said to have two characters, which, however, are not kept distinct in the Brahmana. On the one hand, he is the result of one of the efforts of the Indian intellect to conceive and express the idea of deity in the abstract, as the great first cause of all things ; while, on the other hand, when the writer begins to describe the manner in which the creative activity of the god is manifested, he at once invests him with a mythological character, and even treats him as only one of the thirty-three deities (as in *S.* P. Br. xi. 6, 3, 5. See my former Art. p. 61 ; and Roth's Lex. *s.v.* Prajapati). In the Brahmana itself (xiv. 1, 2, 18) we have the following text, which expresses two different aspects under which the god was regarded, though, perhaps, these are not identical with the two points of view which I have stated : "Prajapati is this sacrifice. Prajapati is both of these two things, declared and undeclared, measured and unmeasured. Whatever he (the priest) does with the Yajus text, with that he consecrates that form of Prajapati which is declared and measured. And what he (the priest) does silently, with that he consecrates the form of Prajapati which is undeclared and unmeasured."

A great variety of other deities of the most heterogeneous character are celebrated in the Atharva Veda as the possessors of divine power. One of these is Prana, life or breath, to

* *S.* P. Br. vii. 5, 2, 6.

whom a hymn (xi. 4) is dedicated, of which the following is a specimen :—

"Reverence to Prana, to whom this universe is subject; who has become the lord of all, on whom all is supported. 2. Reverence, Prana, to thy shout, to thy thunder, to thy lightning, and to thyself when thou rainest. 3. When Prana calls aloud to the plants with thunder, they are impregnated, they conceive, they produce abundantly. 4. When the season has arrived, and Prana calls aloud to the plants, then everything rejoices which is upon the earth. 5. When Prana has watered the great earth with rain, then the beasts rejoice, and [think] that they shall have strength. 6. When watered by Prana, the plants burst forth [saying], 'Thou hast prolonged our life, thou hast made us all fragrant.' 7. "Reverence to thee, Prana, coming, and to thee going, and to thee standing, and to thee sitting..... 9. Communicate to us thy dear form, thy dearest, with thy healing power, that we may live. 10. Prana clothes the creatures, as a father his dear son. Prana is the lord of all, both of what breathes and what does not breathe. 11. Prana is death, Prana is fever. The gods worship Prana. Prana places the truth-speaker in the highest world. 12. Prana is Viraj, Prana is Deshtri. All worship Prana. Prana is sun and moon. They call Prajapati, Prana..... 15. They call Matarisvan, Prana; the Wind is called Prana. The past, the future, everything is supported upon Prana. 16. The plants of Atharvan, of Angiras, of the gods, and of men, grow when thou, Prana, quickenest..... 18. Whoever, O Prana, knows this [truth regarding] thee, and on what thou art supported—all will offer him tribute in that highest world. 19. As, O Prana, all these creatures offer thee tribute, so shall they offer tribute in that highest world to him who hears thee with willing ears."

Rohita, probably a form of Fire and of the Sun (though he is also distinguishod, in the hymn I am about to quote, from both these gods), is another deity who is highly celebrated in the A. V., where one hymn (xiii. 1) and parts of others are appropriated to his honour. The following are some of the verses in which his power is described :—xiii. 1, 6. "Rohita produced heaven and earth : there Parameshthin stretched the web. There Aja Ekapada was contained. He established heaven and earth by his force. 7. Rohita established heaven and earth : by him the sky was supported, by him the heaven.

By him the atmosphere, by him the regions were meted out. Through him the gods obtained immortality..... 13. Rohita is the generator, and the mouth, of sacrifice. To Rohita I offer my oblation with voice, ear, and mind. To Rohita the gods resort with gladness..... 14. Rohita offered a sacrifice to Visvakarman. From it may these fires approach me..... 25. The gods frame creations out of that Rohita who is sharp-horned bull, who surpasses Agni and Surya, who props up the earth and the sky..... 37. In Rohita, who is the conqueror of wealth and cows,.....the heaven and earth are sustained..... 55. He first became the sacrifice, both past and future. From him sprang all this whatever there is which shines, developed by Rohita the rishi."

In the second hymn of the same book, in which the sun is celebrated, Rohita is also named in the following verses:— "39 ff. Rohita became Time; Rohita formerly became Prajapati. Rohita is the mouth of sacrifices. Rohita produced the sky. 40. Rohita became the world; Rohita shone beyond the sky; Rohita traversed the earth and [aerial ?] ocean with his rays. 41. Rohita traversed all the regions. Rohita is the ruler of the sky. He preserves heaven, ocean, and earth—whatever exists."

And yet the gods are said to have generated Rohita (A. V. xiii. 3, 12, 23).

In the hymn which follows divine power is ascribed to the remains of the sacrifice (Uchhishta):

A. V. xi. 7, 1. "In the Uchhishta (remains of the sacrifice) are contained name, form,* the world, Indra and Agni, the universe, (2) heaven and earth, all that exists, the waters, the sea, the moon, and the wind. In the Uchhishta are both the existent and the non-existent (*san, asamscha*, masc.), death, food (or strength, *vaja*), Prajapati..... 4....Brahma,† the ten creators of all things, the gods, are fixed on all sides to the Uchhishta as [the spokes] of a wheel to the nave." So, too, the Rik, Saman, Yajus, the hymns, the different sorts of sacrifices, and parts of the ceremonial, etc., are comprehended in it (vv. 5-13). "14. Nine earths, oceans, skies (?), are contained in the Uch-

* See verse 12, of the hymn to Purusha, A. V. x. 2.

† Are these the ten Maharshis mentioned by Manu i. 34 f.? In A. V. xi. 1, 1, 3, mention is made of the seven Rishis, the makers of all things (*bhuta-krtah*). See also A. V. xii. 1, 39.

hish*t*a. The sun shines in the Uchhish*t*a, and in the Uchhish*t*a are day and night. 15. The Uchhish*t*a (*masc.*), the sustainer of the universe, the father of the generator, upholds the..... *upahavya*, and the sacrifices which are secretly presented. 16. The Uchhish*t*a, the father of the generator, the grandson of spirit (*asu*), the progenitor, the ruler, the lord of the universe, the bull, rules triumphant (?) over the earth. 17. Ceremonial, truth, rigorous abstraction, dominion, effort, righteousness and works, past, future, strength, prosperity, force, reside in the Uchhish*t*a, which is force (comp. x. 7, 1, above)..... 20. In the Uchhish*t*a are embraced the resounding waters, thunder, the great *sruti* (veda ?), pebbles, sand, stones, plants, grass, (21) clouds, lightnings, rain..... 23. From the Uchhish*t*a sprang whatever breathes and sees, with all the celestial gods, (24) the Rich and Saman verses, metres, Pura*n*as, and Yajus,.....two of the vital airs (*prana* and *apana*), the eye, the ear, imperishableness, perishableness, (26) pleasures, enjoyments, (27) the Pitris, men, Gandharvas, and Apsarases." (Comp. A. V. xi. 3, 21.)

Similar divine powers are ascribed to different sacrificial implements in A. V. xviii. 4, 5 : "The ladle (*juhu*) has established the sky, the ladle (*upabhrt*) the atmosphere, and the ladle (*dhruva*) the stable earth."

In a hymn to Anumati (according to Prof. Roth the goddess of good will, as well as of procreation), A. V. vii. 20, she is thus identified with all things (v. 6) : "Anumati was all this [universe], whatever stands or walks, and every thing that moves. May we, O goddess, enjoy thy benevolence ; for thou, Anumati, dost favour us (*anumansase*)."

In A. V. iv. 11, 1, a divine power is ascribed to the "Ox," which, however, Professor Aufrecht thinks can only be regarded as a metaphorical ox, as it has an udder (v. 4), and gives milk ; and he supposes a kettle with four legs, the *Gharma*, to be intended. As that vessel was used for boiling milk and other materials for sacrificial purposes, the allusions in this hymn to milk become intelligible ; and possibly the fourlegged kettle may by its form have suggested the figure of an ox.

"The ox has established the earth and the sky ; the ox has established the broad atmosphere ; the ox has established the six vast regions ; the ox has pervaded the entire universe. 2. The ox is Indra. He watches over the beasts. As *S*akra he measures the threefold paths. Milking out the worlds,

whatever has been or shall be, he performs all the functions of the gods. 3. Being born as Indra among men, the kindled and glowing kettle works.....5. That which neither the lord of the sacrifice nor the sacrifice rules, which neither the giver nor the receiver rules, which is all-conquering, all-supporting, and all-working (*visvakarmâ*),—declare to us the kettle, what quadruped it is."

The hymn to be next quoted ascribes very astonishing powers to the Brahmacharin, or religious student. Some parts of it are obscure, but the translation I give, though imperfect, will convey some idea, of the contents :—

A. V. xi. 5, 1 : "The Brahmacharin works, quickening both worlds. The gods are united in him. He has established the earth and the sky. He satisfies his *acharya* (religious teacher) by *tapas*. 2. The Fathers, the heavenly hosts, all the gods separately follow after him, with the 6333 Gandharvas. He satisfies all the gods by *tapas*. 3. The *acharya* adopting him as a disciple, makes him a brahmacharin even in the womb, and supports him there for three nights. When he is born the gods assemble to see him 4. This piece of fuel is the earth (compare v. 9), the second is the sky, and he satisfies the air with fuel.* The brahmacharin satisfies the worlds with fuel, with a girdle, with exertion, with *tapas*. 5 Born before divine science (*brahma*) the brahmacharin, arose through *tapas*, clothed with heat. From him was produced divine knowledge (*brahmana*), the highest divine science (*brahma*),† and all the gods, together with immortality. 6. The Brahmacharin advances, lighted up by fuel, clothed in a black antelope's skin, consecrated, long-bearded. He moves straightway from the eastern to the northern ocean, compressing the worlds, and again expanding them. 7. The Brahmacharin, generating divine science, the waters, the world, Prajapati, Parameshthin, Viraj, having become an embryo in the womb of immortality, having become Indra, crushed the Asuras. 8. The Acharya has constructed both these spheres, broad and deep, the earth and the sky. The Brahmacharin preserves them by *tapas*. In him the gods are united. 9. It was the Brahmacharin who first produced this broad earth and the sky as an alms. Making them two pieces of fuel (compare

* See Asvalayana's Grhya Sutras, ed. Stenzler, pp. 12 ff.

† The words *brahma jyeshtham* appear here to denote divine knowledge. As employed in A. V. x 7, 32 ff., and x. 8, 1, they appear to designate a personal being. See above.

v. 4), he worships. In them all creatures are contained. 10. The two receptacles of divine knowledge (*brahmana*) are secretly deposited, the one on this side, the other beyond, the surface of the sky. The Brahmacharin guards them by *tapas*. Wise, he appropriates that divine knowledge as his exclusive portion..... 16. The Brahmacharin is the Acharya, the Brahmacharin is Prajapati; Prajapati shines (*vi rājati*); the shining (*Viraj*) became Indra, the powerful. 17. Through self-restraint (*brahmacharyya, i. e.* the life of a *brahmacharin*) and *tapas* a king protects his dominions. Through self-restraint an Acharya seeks after a Brahmacharin. 18. By self-restraint a damsel obtains a young man as her husband. By self-restraint an ox and a horse seek to gain fodder. 19. By self-restraint and *tapas* the gods destroyed death. By self-restraint Indra acquired heaven from [or, for] the gods. 20. Plants, whatever has been, whatever shall be, day and night, trees, the year, with the seasons, have been produced from the Brahmacharin. 21. Terrestrial and celestial beings, beasts both wild and tame, creatures without wings and winged, have been produced from the Brahmacharin. 22. All creatures which have sprung from Prajapati have breath separately in themselves; all of these are preserved by divine knowledge (*brahma*), which is produced in the Brahmacharin. .....26. These things the Brahmacharin formed; on the surface of the water he stood performing *tapas** in the sea."

The Taittiriya Brahmana (iii. 10, 11, 3) tells a story illustrative of the great virtue ascribed to brahmacharyya, or religious self-restraint: "Bharadvaja practised brahmacharyya during three lives. Indra, approaching him when he was lying decayed and old, said: 'Bharadvaja, if I should give thee a fourth life, what wilt thou do with it?' He answered, 'I will use it only to practise brahmacharyya.' He showed him three objects, as it were unknown, in the shape of mountains. From each of these he took a handful. He said, addressing him, 'Bharadvaja, these are the Vedas: the Vedas are infinite. This is what thou hast studied during these three lives. But other things have remained unstudied by thee. Now learn this (Agni Savitra). This is universal knowledge.'"

We have already seen above, that in R. V. x. 129, 4, desire is said to have been the first movement that arose in the One after it had come into life through the power of fervour, or abstraction. This Kama, or desire, not of sexual enjoyment, but

* Compare A. V. x. 7, 38.

of good in general, is celebrated in the following curious hymn (A. V. ix. 2) as a great power, superior to all the gods ; and is supplicated for deliverance from enemies. Desire, as the first step towards its own fulfilment, must be considered as here identified with successful desire, or with some deity regarded as the inspirer and accomplisher of the wishes of his votaries :*

"1. With oblations of butter I worship Kama,† the mighty slayer of enemies. Do thou, when lauded, beat down my foes by thy great might. 2. The sleeplessness which is displeasing to my mind and eye, which harasses and does not delight me, that sleeplessness I let loose upon my enemy. Having praised Kama, may I rend him. 3. Kama, do thou, a fierce lord, let loose sleeplessness, misfortune, childlessness, homelessness, and want, upon him who wishes us evil. 4. Send them away, Kama, drive them away : may they fall into misery, those who are my enemies. When they have been hurled into the nethermost darkness, do thou, Agni, burn up their dwellings. 5. That daughter of thine, Kama, is named the Cow which sages call Vach Viraj. By her drive away my enemies. May breath, cattle, life forsake them.....7. May all the gods be my defence ; may all the gods attend upon this my invocation. 8. Ye [gods], of whom Kama is the highest, accepting this oblation of butter, be joyful in this place, granting me deliverance from my enemies. 9. Indra, Agni, and Kama, mounted on the same chariot, hurl ye down my foes ; when they have fallen into the nethermost darkness, do thou, Agni, burn up their dwellings. 10. Kama, slay my enemies ; cast them down into thick (*lit.* blind) darkness. Let them all become destitute of power and vigour, and not live a single day. 11. Kama has slain my enemies, has made for me a wide room and prosperity. May the four regions bow down to me and the six worlds bring fatness. 12 (=A. V. iii. 6, 7). Let them (my enemies) float downwards like a boat severed from its moorings. There is no return for those who have been put to flight by our arrows.....16. With that triple and effectual protection of thine, O Kama, that spell (*brahma*), which has been extended [in front of us as] armour, and made impenetrable, do thou drive away, etc. (as in v. 5). 17. Do thou, Kama, drive my enemies far from this world by that [same weapon, or amulet] wherewith the gods re-

* See A. V. iii. 29, 7.
† See Taitt. Br. ii. 8, 8, 8.

pelled the Asuras, and Indra hurled the Dasyus into the nethermost darkness.* (V. 18 is nearly a repetition of v. 17). 19. Kama was born the first. Him neither gods, nor Fathers, nor men have equalled. Thou art superior to these, and for ever great. To thee, Kama, I offer reverence. 20. Wide as are the heaven and earth in extent; far as the waters have swept; far as Agni [has blazed];—thou art yet superior to these (as in v. 19). 21. Great as are the regions and the several intermediate regions, the celestial tracts, and the vistas of the sky,—thou art yet superior, etc. 22. As many bees, bats, reptiles, *vaghas* (?), and tree-serpents as there are, thou art yet superior, etc. 23. Thou art superior to all that winks, or stands, superior to the sea, O Kama, Manyu. Thou art superior, etc. 24. Even Vata (the Wind) does not vie with Kama, nor does Agni, nor Surya, nor Chandramas (the Moon). Thou art superior, etc. 25. With those auspicious and gracious forms of thine, O Kama, through which that which thou choosest becomes true,—with them do thou enter into us; and send malevolent thoughts away somewhere else."

A. V. xix. 52, is another hymn addressed to the same deity.

It is well known that Greek mythology connected Eros, the god of love, with the creation of the universe somewhat in the same way as Kama is associated with it in R. V. x. 129, 4. Thus Plato says in the Symposium (sect. 6): "Eros neither had any parents, nor is he said by any unlearned man or by any poet to have had any. But Hesiod declares that chaos first arose, and 'then the broad-bosomed earth, ever the firm abode of all things, and Eros.' He says that after chaos these two things were produced, the earth and Eros. Now Parmenides speaks thus of the creation, 'He devised Eros the first of all the gods.' And Acusilaus also agrees with Hesiod. From so many quarters is Eros admitted to be one of the oldest deities." (See the article Eros in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and

* In A. V. viii. 5, 3, mention is made of a jewel or amulet, by which Indra slew Vrttra, overcame the Asuras, and conquered heaven and earth, and the four regions." And in A. V. viii. 8, 5 ff. we are told of another instrument of offence belonging to Indra, in addition to the thunderbolt, arrows, and hook, described in the R. V. (see my former paper, p. 92), viz., a net: 5. "The air was his net; and the great regions the rods for extending the net. Enclosing within it the host of the Dasyus, Sakra overwhelmed it. 7. Great is the net of thee who art great, O heroic Indra!... within it enclosing them, Sakra slew a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, a hundred millions of Dasyus, with his army."

Roman Biography and Mythology, and the authorities there referred to).

In another hymn of the A. V. (iii. 25), Kama, like the Eros of the Greeks and Cupid of the Latins, is described as the god of sexual love. The commencement of it is as follows: "1. May the disquieter disquiet thee. Do not rest upon thy bed With the terrible arrow of Kama I pierce thee in the heart. 2. May Kama, having well directed the arrow which is winged with pain, barbed with longing, and has desire for its shaft, pierce thee in the heart. 3. With the well-aimed arrow of Kama, which dries up the spleen,.....I pierce thee in the heart."*

In the next two remarkable hymns we find an altogether new doctrine, as Time is there described as the source and ruler of all things:—

A. V. xix. 53:† "1. Time carries [us] forward, a steed, with seven rays, a thousand eyes, undecaying, full of fecundity. On him intelligent sages mount; his wheels are all the worlds. 2. Thus Time moves on seven wheels; he has seven naves; immortality is his axle. He is at present all these worlds. Time hastens onward, the first god. 3. A full jar is contained in Time. We behold him existing in many forms. He is all these worlds in the future. They call him Time in the highest heaven. 4. It is he who drew forth the worlds, and encircled them. Being the father, he became their son. There is no other power superior to him. 5. Time generated the sky and these earths. Set in motion by Time, the past and the future subsist. 6. Time created the earth; by Time the sun burns; through Time all beings [exist]; through Time the eye sees. 7. Mind, breath, name, are embraced in Time. All these creatures rejoice when Time arrives. 8. In Time rigorous abstraction (*tapas*), in time the highest (*jyeshtham*), in Time divine knowledge (*brahma*) is comprehended. Time is lord of all things, he who was the father of Prajapati. 9. That [universe] has been set in motion by him, produced by him, and is supported on him. Time, becoming divine energy (*brahma*), supports Parameshthin. 10. Time produced creatures; Time in the beginning [formed] Prajapati. The self-born Kasyapa

* This hymn is translated by Professor Weber in his Indische Studien, v. 224 ff., from whose version I have derived assistance.

† A great deal is said about the potency of Kala, or Time, in the Santiparva of the Mahabharata, vv. 8106, 8112, 8125 ff., 8139-8144, 8758, 9877 f., 10060.

sprang from Time, and from Time [sprang] rigorous abstraction (*tapas*)."

A. V. x. 54. "1. From Time the waters were produced, together with divine knowledge (*brahma*), *tapas*, and the regions. Through Time the sun rises and again sets. 2. Through Time the wind blows [*lit.* purifies] ; through time the earth is vast. The great sky is embraced in time. 3. Through Time the hymn (*mantra*) formerly produced both the past and the future. From Time sprang the Rik verses. The Yajus was produced from time. 4. Through Time they created the sacrifice, an imperishable portion for the gods. On Time the Gandharvas and Apsarases, on Time the worlds are supported. 5, 6. Through Time this Angiras and Atharvan rule over the sky. Having through divine knowledge (*brahma*), conquered both this world, and the highest world, and the holy worlds, and the holy ordinances (*vidhrtih*), yea all worlds, Time moves onward as the supreme god."

Rohita is identified with Kala, A. V. xiii. 2, 39.

The conception of Kala in these hymns is one which, if taken in its unmodified shape, would have been esteemed heretical in later times.* Thus among the several forms of speculation which are mentioned at the commencement of the Śvetaśvatara Upanishad, for the purpose, no doubt, of being condemned as erroneous, is one which regards Kala, or Time, as the origin of all things. The line in which these different systems are mentioned is as follows: *kalah svabhavo niyatir yadrchha bhutani yonih purushah.* It is the verse referred to in the following note of Prof. Wilson in p. 19 of his Vishnu Purana (Dr. Hall's ed.): "The commentator on the Moksha Dharma (a part of the Śanti-parva of the M. Bh.) cites a passage from the Vedas, which he understands to allude to the different theories of the cause of creation (then follows the line just quoted); time, inherent nature, consequence of acts, self-will, elementary atoms, matter, and spirit, asserted severally by the astrologers, the Bauddhists, the Mimansakas, the logicians, the Sankhyas, and the Vedantins."†

* The M. Bh. however, Anuśasana-parva, vv. 51-56, makes Mrtyu, or death, declare that all natures, all creatures, the world itself, all actions cessations and changes, derive their essential character from Time, while the gods themselves, including Vishnu, are created and destroyed by the same power (*kala*).

† "*Krónos* was also," adds Prof. Wilson, "one of the first generated agents in creation, according to the Orphic theogony."

Manu (i. 24), declares Kala (Time) to have been one of the things created by Brahma. But though not admitted as itself the origin of all things, Kala is nevertheless recognised by the author of the Vishnu Purana as one of the forms of the supreme Being. See pp. 18, 19, and 25, of Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson's Vishnu Purana, and the note in p. 19 already referred to, where Prof. Wilson says, "Time is not usually enumerated in the Puranas as an element of the 'first cause;' but the Padma Purana and the Bhagavata agree with the Vishnu in including it. It appears to have been regarded, at an earlier date, as an independent cause." See the Bhag. Pur. iii. 5, 34-37; iii. 8, 11 f.; iii. 10, 10-13; iii. 11, 1 ff.; iii. 12, 1 ff. We thus see the authors of the Puranas interweaving with their own cosmogonies all the older element of speculation which they discovered in the Vedas; and by blending heretical materials with others which were more orthodox, contriving to neutralize the heterodoxy of the former.

A few general observations are suggested by a consideration of the principal passages which have been quoted in this paper.

I. The conceptions of the godhead expressed in these texts are of a wavering and undetermined character. It is clear that the authors had not attained to a distinct and logical comprehension of the characteristics which they ascribed to the objects of their adoration. On the one hand, the attributes of infinity, omnipotence, omnipresence, are ascribed to different beings, or to the same being under the various names of Purusha, Skambha, Brahma, Hiranyagarbha, etc. (R. V. x. 90, 1 ff.; x. 121, 1 ff. A. V. x. 7, 10, 13, 31-33; x. 8, 1). And yet in other places these same qualities are represented as subject to limitations, and these divine beings themselves are said to expand by food, to be produced from other beings (as Purusha from Viraj), to be sacrificed, to be produced from *tapas* or to perform *tapas* (R. V. x. 90, 2, 4, 7. A. V. x. 2, 12 ff., 26; x. 7, 31, 36, 38).

II. In these passages divine power is variously conceived, sometimes as the property of one supreme person, as Purusha, Skambha, etc; while in other places it is attached (1) to some abstraction as Kama (Desire), Kala (Time), or (2) to some personification of energies residing in living beings, as Prana (Life or Breath), or (3) of the materials *(uchhishta)* or the implements *(juhu, upabhrt,* etc.) of sacrifice, or is ascribed (4) to the vehicles of adoration, to hymns and metres, such as the Viraj,

which is said (A. V. viii. 10, 1) to have been identical with the world, or (5) to the guardian of sacred science, and future minister of religious rites, the Brahmacharin. It need occasion no surprise that the young priest should be regarded as invested with such transcendent attributes, when even the sacrifices which he was being trained to celebrate, the hymns and metres in which he invoked the gods, and the very sacrificial vessels he handled were conceived to possess a supernatural potency.

It is difficult to seize the different elements of thought and feeling which may have concurred to give birth to this hazy congeries of ideas, in which the real centre of divine power is obscured, while a multitude of inferior objects are magnified into unreal proportions, and invested with a fictitious sanctity. But these extraordinary representations reveal to us in the Indians of the Vedic age a conception of the universe which was at once (*a*) mystical or sacramental, (*b*) polytheistic, and (*c*) pantheistic; (*a*) everything connected with religious rites being imagined to have in it a spiritual as well as a physical potency; (*b*) all parts of nature being separately regarded as invested with divine power; and yet (*c*) as constituent parts of one great whole.

Art. IV.—*The Vedic Doctrine of a Future Life.*

[Presented September 1, 1864.]

It is only in the ninth and tenth books of the Rig Veda that there is any very distinct and prominent reference made to a future life. It is true that the *Ṛ*bhus, on account of their artistic skill, are said to have been promised, and to have attained, immortality and divine honours (i. 161, 2 ; iv. 35, 3, 7, 8) ; but this is a special case of deification, and does not prove that ordinary mortals were considered to survive after the termination of their earthly existence. There are, however, a few other passages which may be understood as intimating a belief in a future state of blessedness. Thus (i. 91, 1) it is said, that "by the guidance of Soma the sage ancestors of the worshippers had obtained treasures among the gods ;" and again, in *v.* 18, "Soma, becoming abundant to (produce) immortality, place for us excellent food in the sky." In a passage already quoted in my former paper (pp. 94 and 138), viii. 48, 3, the worshipper exclaims : "We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods," etc. And in i. 125, 6, it is said, "Those who bestow gifts attain immortality." So too, in i. 154, 5, we find these words, "May I attain to that beloved abode* of his (Vish*n*u's) where men devoted to the gods rejoice : for—such a friend is he—there is a spring of honey in the highest sphere of the wide-striding Vish*n*u." In vi. 47, 8, Indra is apostrophized as "leading his servants into a wide space, into celestial light, into security, and prosperity." Agni, too, is said to confer, or be the guardian of, immortality, i. 31, 7 ; vi. 7, 7. Vata is also declared to have a store of immortality in his house *(te grhe amrtasya nidhir hitah)*. But this verse occurs in a late hymn (the 186th) of the tenth man*d*ala.

I now come to the passages in the ninth and tenth books to which I first alluded ; and, owing to the great interest and importance of the subjects to which they refer, I shall first quote the most important parts of them at length, and then supply a summary of the conclusions which they assert or involve.

I shall begin with the brief account of Yama's parentage in the seventeenth hymn, and the dialogue betwixt him and his twin sister Yami, in the tenth hymn, of the tenth book.

* The same word which is employed here, *pâthas*, occurs, also in iii. 55,10.

R. V. x. 17, 1.—"Tvash*tr* makes a marriage for his daughter. (Hearing) so, this whole world assembles. The mother of Yama, becoming wedded, the wife of the great Vivasvat disappeared. 2. They concealed the immortal (bride) from mortals. Making (another) of similar form, gave her to Vivasvat. And she bore the Asvins when that happened. Sara*n*yu abandoned the two pairs of twins"

The following hymn contains a dialogue between Yama and his twin sister Yami, in which, according to Professor Roth, she is to be considered as urging a matrimonial union between them for the continuation of the human species, of which, in the opinion of that writer, they appear to have been regarded as the earliest pair.* In verse 4, they are declared to have been the offspring of the Gandharva and his wife.

R. V. x. 10, 1.†—[Yami says] "O that I might attract a friend to intimacy. May the sage (Yama ?), after traversing a vast ocean, receive a grandson to his father, and look far forward over the earth.‡ 2. (Yama.) Thy friend does not desire this intimacy that (his) kinswoman should become (as) an alien. The heroes, the sons of the great Spirit, the supporters of the sky, look far and wide around (see v. 8.) 3. (Yami.) The immortals desire this of thee, (they desire) a descendant left behind by the one sole mortal. Let thy soul be united to mine. As a husband, penetrate the body of (thy) wife. 4. (Yama.) Shall we (do) now what we have never done before? Shall we who (have been) speakers of righteousness, utter unrighteousness? The Gandharva in the (aerial) waters, and his aqueous wife§—such is our source, such is our high relationship. 5. (Yami.) The divine Tvash*tr*, the creator, the vivifier, the shaper of all forms, made us husband and wife, (while we were yet) in the womb.‖ No one can infringe his ordinances. Earth and heaven know this of us. 6. (Yama.) Who knows this first day? Who has seen it? Who can declare it? Vast is the realm of Mitra

* See Professor Roth's remarks on Yama in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 426, and in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 335 f.

† This hymn is repeated in the A. V. xviii. 1, 1 ff.

‡ This verse occurs with variations in the Sama Veda, i. 340.

§ Compare Müller's Lectures, second series, p. 483. He takes Gandharva for Vivasvat, and his aqueous wife (*Apya Yosha*) for Sara*n*yu, in accordance with Saya*n*a.

‖ In like manner Tvash*tr* is said, A. V. vi. 78, 3, to have formed a husband and wife for each other.

and Varuna. What wilt thou, O wanton woman, say in thy thoughtlessness (?) to men? 7. (Yami.) The desire of Yama has come upon me, Yami, to lie with him on the same couch. Let me as a wife bare my body to my husband. Let us whirl round like the two wheels of a chariot. 8. (Yama.) These spies of the gods who frequent this world, stand not still, neither do they wink. Depart quickly, wanton woman, with some other man than me. Whirl round with him like the two wheels of a chariot. 9. (Yami.) Though she should wait upon him by night and by day, still the eye of the sun would open again. Both in heaven and earth twins are closely united. Let Yami treat Yama as if she were not his sister. 10. (Yama.) Later ages shall come when kinsmen and kinswomen shall do what is unbecoming their relation. Spread thy arm beneath a male. Desire, O fair one, another husband than me. 11 (Yami.) What is a brother, when (a woman) is left without a helper? [*i.e.*: necessity has no law.] And what is a sister, when misery (is allowed to) come upon her? Overcome by desire, I am thus importunate. Unite thy body with mine. 12. (Yama.) I will not unite my body with thine. They call him a sinner who sexually approaches his sister. Seek thy gratification with some other than me. Fair one, thy brother desires not this. 13. (Yami.) Thou art weak, alas, O Yama; we perceive not any soul or heart in thee. Another woman shall enlace and embrace thee like a girdle, or as a creeping plant a tree. 14. (Yama.) Thou shalt embrace another man, O Yami, and another man thee, as a creeping plant a tree. Do thou desire his heart, and he thine. Make then a fortunate alliance."

The next hymn I quote is addressed to Yama.

R. V. x. 14, 1 (=A. V. xviii. 1, 49. Nir. x. 20).—"Worship with an oblation King Yama, son of Vivasvat, the assembler of men, who departed to the mighty streams,* and spied out the road for many. [Compare Atharva Veda, xviii. 3, 14: "Reverence ye with an oblation Yama, the son of Vivasvat, the assembler of men, who was the first of men that died, and the first that departed to this (celestial) world."] 2. Yama was the first who found for us the way. This home is not to be taken from us. Those who are now born (follow) by their own paths to the place whither our ancient fathers have departed. 3. Matali magnified by the Kavyas, Yama by the Angirases,

* Compare Prof. Müller's Lectures, ii. 515.

and Br*h*aspati by the *R*kvans—both those whom the gods magnified, and those who (magnified) the gods—of these some are gladdened by *Svâhâ*, and others by *Svadhâ*. 4. Place thyself, Yama, on this sacrificial seat in concert with the Angirases and Pitr*s*. Let the texts recited by the sages bring thee hither. Delight thyself, O king, with this oblation. 5. Come with the adorable Angirases; delight thyself here, Yama, with the children of Virupa. Seated on the grass at this sacrifice, I invoke Vivasvat, who is thy father. 6. (Nir. xi. 19). May we enjoy the good will and gracious benevolence of those adorable beings the Angirases, our ancestors, the Navagvas, the Atharvans, the Bh*r*gus, offerers of soma. 7. Depart thou,* depart by the ancient paths (to the place) whither our early fathers have departed. (There) shalt thou see the two kings, Yama and the god Varu*n*a, exhilirated by the oblation (*svadhâ*), (or, exulting in independent power). 8. Meet with the Pitr*s*, meet with Yama, (obtain) the fulfilment of thy desires† in the highest heaven. Throwing off again all imperfection go to thy home. Become united to a body, and clothed in a shining form. 9. Go ye, depart ye, hasten ye from hence.‡ The Pitr*s* have made for him this place. Yama gives him an abode§ distinguished by day, and waters, and lights. 10. By an auspicious path do thou hasten past the two four-eyed brindled dogs, the offspring of Sarama. Then approach the bountiful (or wise) Pitr*s*, who dwell in festivity with Yama (compare A. V. xviii. 4, 10). 11. Entrust him,‖ O Yama, to thy two four-eyed, road-guarding, man-observing watch-dogs; and bestow on him prosperity and health. 12. The two brown messengers of Yama, broad of nostril and insatiable, wander about among men.¶ May they give us again the auspicious breath of life, that we may behold the sun. 13. Pour out the soma to Yama, offer him an oblation.

* See Prof. Muller's Essay on the Funeral Rites of the Brahmans, Journal of the German Oriental Society for 1855, p. xi.

† See Dr. Haug's Ait. Br., ii. p. 474, note.

‡ These words, according to Muller, are addressed to evil spirits.

§ *Avasanam.* Compare A. V. xviii. 2, 37.

‖ See Roth, Journal German Oriental Society, iv. 428, at the foot, and his explanation of *pari dehi* s. v. *da.* Muller, on the other hand (p. xiv.), translates: "Surround him, Yama, protecting him from the dogs," etc.

¶ The two dogs of Yama are also mentioned in A. V. viii. 1, 9, where one of them is said to be black (*syama*) and the other spotted (*sabala*). In A. V. viii. 2, 11, the messengers of Yama who wander among men are spoken of in the plural, without being described as dogs.

To Yama the sacrifice proceeds when heralded by Agni and prepared. 14. Offer to Yama an oblation with butter, and be active. May he grant us to live a long life among the gods. 15. Offer a most honied oblation to king Yama. Let this salutation (be presented) to the earliest-born, the ancient *r*shis, who made for us a path."

Hymn 15 of the same Ma*n*dala is addressed to the Pit*r*s, or departed ancestors, who, as we have already seen, are conceived to be living in a state of blessedness in the other world. I will quote some verses from it, which will show still further their enjoyments, powers, and prerogatives. "1 (=Vaj. Sanh. 19,49; Nir. 11, 18). Let the lower, the upper, and the middle Pit*r*s, the offerers of soma, arise. May these Pit*r*s, innocuous, and versed in righteousness, who have attained to (higher) life (*asu*)* protect us in the sacrifices. 2 (=V. S. 19, 68). Let this reverence be to-day paid to the Pit*r*s, who departed first, and who (departed) last, who are situated in the terrestrial sphere,† or who are now among the powerful races (the gods)..... 5 (=V. S. 19, 57). Invited to these favourite oblations placed on the grass, may the Pit*r*s, the offerers of soma, come, may they hear us, may they intercede for us, and preserve us. 6 (=V. S. 19, 62).....Do us no injury, O Pit*r*s, on account of any offence which we, after the manner of men, may commit against you. 7 (=V. S. 19, 63).....Bestow wealth on the mortal who worships you. 8 (=V. S. 19, 51). May Yama feast according to his desire on the oblations, eager, and sharing his gratification with the eager Vasishthas, our ancient ancestors, who presented a Soma libation. 10. Come, Agni, with a thousand of those exalted ancient Pit*r*s, adorers of the gods, sitters at the fire, who are true, who are eaters and drinkers of oblations, and who are received into the same chariot with Indra and the gods. 11 (=V. S. 19, 59). Come hither, ye Agnishvatta Pit*r*s, occupy each a seat, ye wise directors; eat the oblations‡ which have been arranged on the grass, and then bestow wealth on us, with all our offspring.....14 (=V. S. 19, 60). Do thou, O self-resplendent god—along with those (Pit*r*s) who, whether they have undergone cremation or not, are gladdened by our oblation—grant us this (higher) vitality (*asuniti*), and a body according to our desire."

* Compare the word *asura*, "Spirit," and *asuniti*, in *v.* 14, below.

† Compare A. V. xviii. 2, 49.

‡ Compare V. S., ii. 30, and commentary.

A funeral hymn addressed to Agni* (x. 16) also contains some verses which illustrate the views of the writer regarding a future life: "1. Do not, Agni, burn up, or consume him (the deceased); do not dissolve his skin, or his body.† When thou hast matured‡ him, O Jatavedas, then send him to the Pitṛs. 2. When thou maturest him, Jatavedas, then consign him to the Pitṛs. When he shall reach that state of vitality, he shall then fulfil the pleasure of the gods. 3. Let his eye go to the sun,§ his breath to the wind. Go to the sky, and to the earth, according to (the) nature (of thy several parts); or go to the waters, if that is suitable for thee; enter into the plants with thy members. 4. As for his unborn part, do thou (Agni) kindle it with thy heat; let thy flame and thy lustre kindle it; with those forms of thine which are auspicious, convey it to the world of the righteous.‖ 5. Give up again, Agni, to the Pitṛs him who comes offered to thee, with oblations. Putting on life, let him approach (his) remains; let him meet with his body, O Jatavedas."

I shall now extract from these texts and others a summary of the information which they supply.

Yama is the son of Vivasvat (ix. 113, 8; x. 14, 1 [=A. V. xviii. 1, 49]; x. 14, 5; x. 58, 1; x. 60, 10), and of Saraṇyu, the immortal daughter of Tvashṭṛ (x. 17, 1, 2) He is elsewhere said, as Professor Roth considers,¶ (see above) to have been one of the original pair of human beings (x. 10, 2), and to have sprung from the Gandharva, a deity of the atmosphere, and his wife (x. 10, 4). In the same hymn *(passim)* he is declared to have resisted the solicitations of his twin-sister Yami to form a sexual union with her for the continuation of the species.** He

* According to Muller (Funeral Rites of the Brahmans, p. xi. f.) some verses from this hymn are repeated after those from hymn 14th, while the remains of the departed are being burnt.

† Compare A. V. xviii. 4, 10-13.

‡ Compare A. V. xviii. 4, 12.

§ Compare Plato Repub. vi. 18. See also Atharva Veda, v. 24, 9; xi. 8, 31; xix. 43, 3.

‖ In A. V. vi. 120, 1, Agni is prayed to deliver from sin and carry to the world of righteousness. Compare A. V. xii. 2, 45; xviii. 3, 71; and xviii. 4, 9, 10.

¶ Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 426; Journal of American Oriental Society, iii. 335. Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 138.

** See Prof. Roth's observations on this dialogue in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 335 f.

was the first of mortals who died, and discovered the way to the other world ; he guides other men thither, and assembles them in a home, which is secured to them for ever (x. 14, 1, 2 ; A. V. vi. 28, 3 ; xviii. 1, 49, 50 ; xviii. 3, 13).* In one place he is represented as carousing with the gods under a leafy tree (R. V. x. 135, 1).† He is a king and dwells in celestial light in the innermost sanctuary of heaven (ix. 113, 7, 8), where the departed behold him associated in blessedness with Varuna (x. 14, 7). He grants luminous abodes in heaven to the pious (x. 14, 9), who dwell with him in festive enjoyment (x. 14, 8, 10). In the A.V. (xviii. 2, 32) he is said to be superior to Vivasvat, and to be himself surpassed by none.

In the Rig Veda Yama is nowhere represented (as he is in the later Indian mythology),‡ as having anything to do with the future punishment of the wicked. In fact, the hymns of that Veda contain, as far as I am aware, no prominent mention of any such penal retribution. [The passages which appear to recognize the existence of a Tartarus will be quoted further on.] But Yama is still to some extent an object of terror. In x. 14, 10-12 he is represented as having two insatiable dogs with four eyes and wide nostrils, which guard the road to his abode, and which the departed are advised to hurry past with all possible speed. These dogs are said to wander about among men as his messengers (x. 14, 12), no doubt for the purpose of summoning them to the presence of their master, who is in another place (x. 165, 4) identified with death, and is described as sending a bird as the herald of doom (compare A. V. vi. 29, 1 ff.) And in a verse of the A.V. (xviii. 2, 27), death is said to be the messenger of Yama, who conveys the spirits of men to the abode of their forefathers. In another place (R. V. x. 97, 16) deliverance is sought from the bonds *(padbisa)* of Yama, as well as those of Varuna. In R. V. i. 38, 5, too, where it is said, "Let not thy worshipper go along the road of Yama," Yama is equivalent to death. In the following verse of the A. V. vi. 28, 3, also, Yama is identified with *mrtyu* (death) : "Reverence be to Yama, death, who first reached the river, spying out the road for many, who

* See Prof. Roth's remarks on these passages in the Journals, etc., above referred to.

† In A. V. xviii. 4, 3, the Adityas are said to feast on honey in heaven (*madhu bhakshayanti*).

‡ See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 207 of 4to. ed. note 3.

is lord of these two-footed and four-footed creatures." (This verse coincides in part with R. V. x. 14, 1, quoted above).

When the remains of the deceased have been placed upon the funeral pile, and the process of cremation has begun, Agni, the god of fire, is prayed not to scorch or consume the departed, not to tear asunder his skin or his limbs, but after the flames have done their work, to convey to the Fathers (the Pitṛs) the mortal who has been presented to him as an offering. The eye of the departed is bidden to go to the sun; his breath *(atma)* to the wind; and his different members to the sky, the earth, the waters, or the plants, according to their several affinities. As for his unborn part *(ajo bhagah)*, Agni is supplicated to kindle it with his heat and flame, and assuming his most auspicious form, to convey it to the world of the righteous (x. 16, 1-5; Vaj. Sanh. xviii. 51).* Before, however, the "unborn part" can complete its course from earth to the third heaven, it has to traverse a vast gulf of darkness.† Leaving behind on earth all that is evil and imperfect, and proceeding by the paths which the fathers trod (R. V. x. 14, 7), the spirit, invested with a lustre like that of the gods (A. V. xi. 1, 37), soars to the realms of eternal light (ix. 113, 7), in a car, or on wings (A. V. iv. 34, 4), on the undecaying pinions wherewith Agni slays the Rakshases (Vaj. Sanh. xviii. 52), wafted upwards by the Maruts, fanned by soft and gentle breezes, and refrigerated by showers (A. V. xviii. 2, 21 ff.); recovers there its ancient body in a complete (A. V. xviii. 2, 24 ff.‡) and glorified form,§ meets with the Pitṛs or forefathers who are living in festivity with Yama, obtains from him, when recognized by him as one of his own, (A. V. xviii. 2, 37) a delectable abode (R. V. x. 14, 8-10; x. 15, 14), and enters upon a more perfect life (R. V. x. 14, 8; x. 15, 14; x. 16, 2, 5), which is crowned with the fulfilment of all desires (ix. 113, 9, 11), is passed in the presence of the gods (x. 14, 14), and employed in the fulfilment of their pleasure (x. 16, 2). In the following passages of the A. V. an expectation is expressed that the family relations will be maintained in the next world :—

xii. 3, 17 : "Do thou conduct us to heaven; let us be with our wives‡ and children."

* See *S.* P. Br. xi. 1, 9, 1.

† See A. V. ix. 5, 1.

‡ See A. V. ix. 5, 22-26.

§ In regard to the celestial body, see Roth in the Journal of the Amer. Orient. Society, vol. iii. p. 343.

vi. 120, 3 : "In heaven, where our virtuous friends enjoy blessedness, having left behind the infirmities of their bodies, free from lameness or distortion of their limbs, may we behold our parents and our children."

ix. 5, 27 : "When a woman has had one husband before, and gets another, if they present the *aja panchaudana* offering, they shall not be separated. 28. A second husband dwells in the same world with his re-wedded wife, if he offers the *aja panchaudana*, etc.

xviii. 2, 23 : "Let thy soul (*manas*) go to its own, and hasten to the fathers."

The enjoyments of this future state are said in R. V. ix. 113, 7 ff. to be conferred by the god Soma, and are described as follows : 7. "Place me, O purified (Soma) in that imperishable and unchanging world, where perpetual light and glory are found. 8. Make me immortal (in the realm) where king Vaivasvata (Yama) dwells, where the sanctuary of the sky exists, and those great waters (flow). 9. Make me immortal in the third heaven, in the third sky, where action is unrestrained,* and the regions are luminous. 10. Make me immortal in the world where there are pleasures and enjoyments—in the sphere of the sun,—where ambrosia and satisfaction are found. 11. Make me immortal in the world where there are joys, and delights, and pleasures, and gratifications ; where the objects of desire are attained."

The pleasures here referred to are most probably to be understood as of a sensual kind.† Such at least is the prospect held out in the following passage of the Atharva Veda, iv. 34, 2 :

A. V. iv. 34, 2 : "Boneless, pure, cleansed by the wind, shining, they go to a shining region ; Agni‡ does not consume their generative organ ; in the celestial sphere they have abundance of sexual gratification.§ 3. Want never comes upon those who cook the *vishtari* oblation. (Such a man) abides (?) with Yama, goes to the gods, and lives in blessedness with the Gandharvas, the quaffers of soma. 4. Yama does not steal away the

* "In heaven he acts according to his pleasure."—Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 2, 9.

† See Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc. iii. 343.

‡ This, no doubt, alludes to the fire of the funeral pile.

§ Compare Mahabharata, xii. 3657 : See also the Kaushitaki Upanishad, as translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 398, and Cowell, Bibliotheca Ind. p. 147.

generative power of those who cook the *vishtari* oblation. (Such a man) becomes lord of a chariot on which he is borne along; becoming winged, he soars beyond the sky." In that region the faithful are also promised ponds filled with clarified butter, honey, wine, milk and curds (*v.* 6).

It is clear, in fact, that in the Vedic age the gods themselves were not regarded as possessing a purely spiritual nature, but as subject to the influence of various sensual appetites. We have formerly seen how constantly they are represented as delighting in the soma juice and in the exhilaration which it produced. Yama is described as carousing with the gods (R. V. x. 135, 1), the Adityas as eating honey (A. V. xviii. 4, 3), and the Pitṛs as indulging in festivity or revelry *(sadhamadam madanti)* with Yama (R. V. x. 14, 10; compare A. V. xviii. 4, 10). Indra is said in R.V. iii. 53, 6, to have a handsome wife, and pleasure, in his house. In two verses of the A.V. xiv. 2, 31 f., the young bride is encouraged to ascend the nuptial couch, and become the mother of children, by the consideration that the gods had been the first to enter into the married state and indulge in carnal intercourse with their spouses *(samasprsanta tanvas tanubhih)*. In A. V. iv. 37, 11 f., the Gandharvas, a class of gods, who are described as hairy like dogs and monkeys, but as assuming a handsome appearance to seduce the affections of earthly females, are called upon to desist from this unbecoming practice, as they had wives of their own, the Apsarases. (Compare vv. 2-7 of the same hymn and A. V. xiv. 2, 35). If even the gods were imagined by the authors of these hymns to have such a decided element of carnality in their nature, it is scarcely to be supposed that these same poets, or their contemporaries, or immediate predecessors, should have risen to the conception of a purely spiritual heaven as the reward of a virtuous life upon earth.

In one passage of the A. V. iii. 29, 3, immunity from taxation is held out as a boon to be anticipated in the next world. It is there said that the offerer of a black-footed sheep "ascends to the sky where no tribute is paid by the weak to the stronger; and in *v.* 5 it is promised that a person of the same description shall "live for ever in the sun and moon."

The virtues for which men are admitted to the realms of the blessed are thus described in hymn 154 of the tenth book of the R. V. 1. "Soma is purified for some; others seek after clarified butter. Let him (the deceased) depart to those for whom the honied beverage flows. 2. Let him depart to those

who through rigorous abstraction (*tapas*) are invincible, who through *tapas* have gone to heaven; to those who have performed great *tapas*. 3. Let him depart to the combatants in battles, to the heroes who have there sacrificed their lives, or to those who have bestowed thousands of largesses. 4. Let him depart, Yama, to those austere ancient Pitṛs, who have practised and promoted sacred rites. 5. Let him depart, Yama, to those austere Ṛshis, born of rigorous abstraction, to those sages, skilled in a thousand sciences, who guard the sun."*

The following verses also proclaim the reward of liberality, a virtue which the Brahmans, who are its objects, have always been forward to extol:

R. V. i. 125, 5: "The man who satisfies others by his liberality abides settled on the summit of the sky; he goes to the gods; to him the flowing waters carry butter; this cow overflows for him continually. 6. These wonderful things belong to those who give gifts; for them there are suns in the sky. Those who give gifts attain immortality; they prolong their lives."

R. V. x. 107, 2: "Those who bestow gifts mount aloft in the sky. The givers of horses abide with the sun. The givers of gold obtain immortality. Those who bestow raiment, O Soma, prolong their lives.....8. Liberal men do not die, nor suffer destruction. The liberal are not injured or distressed. Liberality confers on them everything, both this entire world, and heaven."

The Pitṛs, or Fathers, who have attained to the heavenly state are described as being objects of adoration to their descendants. They are said to be of different classes upper, intermediate, and lower, or those who inhabit the heaven (or sky), the air and the earth (R. V. x. 15, 1; A. V. xviii. 2, 49), while in the verse preceding the one last quoted (A. V. xviii. 2, 48), we are told that there are three heavens, of which the Fathers occupy the third or highest. Their different races are mentioned by name, viz. Angirases, Vairupas, Naragvas, Atharvans, Bhṛgus, Vasishṭhas, etc. (R. V. x. 14, 4-6; x. 15,8). Though not all known to their worshippers, they are known to Agni (x. 15, 13). Their descendants offer them worship and oblations (x. 15, 2, 9), supplicate their good will (x. 14, 6),

* These verses form part of the funeral liturgy of the Brahmans. See Müller, on the funeral rites of the Brahmans, p. xi.

deprecate their wrath on account of any offences which may have been committed against them (x. 15, 6), entreat them to hear, intercede for, and protect their votaries (x. 15, 5), and to bestow upon them opulence (x. 15, 7, 11; A. V. xviii. 3, 14, xviii. 4, 62).* They are represented as thirsting for the libations prepared for them on earth (x. 15, 9); and they are invited to come with Yama, his father Vivasvat, and Agni, and feast with avidity, and to their hearts' content, on the sacrificial food (x. 14, 4, 5; x. 15, 9). They accordingly arrive in thousands, borne on the same car with Indra and the other gods, and range themselves in order on the sacrificial ground (x. 15, 10, 11).†

With these ideas compare those entertained by the Romans about the Manes (see Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, *s.v.*) and the opinions of the unreformed Christian Churches about the powers and prerogatives of the saints.

The following texts refer indistinctly to some punishment of the wicked:

R. V. iv. 5, 5: "This deep abyss (*pada*) has been produced (for those who) being wicked, false, untrue, go about like women without brothers, like females hostile to their husbands."

R. V. vii. 104, 3: "Indra and Soma, dash those malicious (Rakshases) into the abyss (*vavre*), into bottomless darkness, so that not even one of them may get out," etc.

But this last text forms part of a hymn which refers to evil spirits.

R. V. ix. 73, 8: "Knowing, he (Soma) beholds all worlds; he hurls the hated and irreligious into the abyss," (*karte*).

In A. V. viii. 2, 24, the nethermost darkness (*adhamam tamas*) is mentioned: "These men do not die, nor go to the nethermost darkness." See also A. V. ix 2, 4, 9, 10, and 17; x. 3, 9; xii. 3, 49; xiii. 1, where similar phrases occur (associated in one place, x. 3, 9, with *asurttam rajas*, the distant (?) region); and xviii. 3, 3, where the expression, *andham tamas*, "blind darkness," is found.‡ But it is not clear that in these passages the words denote a place of punishment. In A. V. xii. 4, 36, however the adjective form of the ordinary word

* See R. V. x. 68, 11.

† Compare on the offerings to the Pitṛs, Colebrooke's Essay on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus. Mis. Essays, i. 180 ff.

‡ Manu, however, viii. 94, connects *andham tamas* with hell, saying that a lying witness goes to hell in "blind darkness."

for hell (*nâraka loka*) occurs ; and that region is threatened as the future abode of the illiberal.

In the following passages of the Mahabharatâ (xii. 6969 f.) hell and darkness (*tamas*) are identified : "Falsehood is the embodiment of darkness (*tamas*) : by darkness a man is carried downwards. Those who are seized by darkness, being enveloped in darkness, do not see the light. Heaven they say is light (*prakasa*), and hell is darknesss (*tamas*)."*

In one of the passages which have been quoted above (x. 16, 4) the "unborn part" of man is spoken of as being conveyed by Agni to "the world of the righteous." It will be observed that the word here employed is different from *atman*, the term which at a later period was invariably used to denote the immaterial soul ; and that this same word *atman* occurs in the preceding verse in the sense of breath, as we must infer from the fact of its being bidden to mingle with the wind, the element to which it is akin. In some other passages of the Rig Veda we find the word *manas* employed for the soul, or the living principle which exists after death Thus in x. 58, 1, it is said, "When thy soul (*manas*) has gone afar to Yama Vaivasvata, we bring it back hither to dwell and to live." In the verses which follow the soul is said to be brought back from a great many other places, the heaven, the earth, the four quarters of the sky, the ocean, the waters, the planets, the sun, the dawn, the past, the future, etc. And again in x. 60, 10, we find the same word employed : "I have brought the soul (*manas*), that it may live and not die, but be secure." *Atman* is however used in some parts of the Rig Veda for the animating principle, as where the sun is called the soul of all things moving and stationary (i. 115, 1), or where Soma is called the soul of sacrifice (ix. 2, 10 ; ix. 6, 1), and of Indra (ix. 85, 3).

I shall now adduce some passages from other Indian works of a later date, such as the *Satapatha Brahmana*, the epic poems and the Puranas, to show how far the opinions which their authors entertained coincide with those representations of a future life which I have extracted from the Rig-, Yajur-, and Atharva-Vedas.

In the 9th vol. of the Journal of the German Orient. Soc. (pp. 237 ff.) Professor Weber has communicated a legend from the *Satapatha Brahmana* on penal retribution after death, to

* Compare Vishnu Purana (Wilson, 4to. ed. p. 211).

which he has prefixed some interesting remarks on the history of Indian opinion regarding the vanity of personal existence, and the desire to escape from the perpetual cycle of births to which that opinion conducts. He remarks that owing to the fragmentary nature of the surviving documents of Indian literature, we are not yet in a position to trace with any distinctness the rise and growth of the doctrine of transmigration; though he considers it to admit of no doubt that the tenet in question was gradually developed in India itself, and not introduced from any foreign country. In the hymns of the Rig Veda, as he goes on to observe, there is no trace discoverable of the metempsychosis, or of any disgust with personal existence. On the contrary, they manifest a cheerful enjoyment of life, and a desire for its prolongation in this world, as well as in the next. "So too," Professor Weber proceeds, "in the Brahmanas immortality, or at least longevity, is promised to those who rightly understand and practise the rites of sacrifice, while those who are deficient in this respect depart before their time *(pura ha ayushah)** to the next world, where they are weighed in a balance (xi. 2, 7, 33) and receive good or evil according to their deeds. The more sacrifices any one has offered, the more etherial is the body he obtains, or as the Brahmana expresses it (x. 1, 5, 4)† the more rarely does he need to eat. In other texts, on the contrary (iv. 6, 1, 1; xi. 1, 8, 6; xii. 8, 3, 31),‡ it is promised as the highest reward, that the pious man shall be born in the next world with his entire body *(sarvatanur eva sangah)*. Here the high-estimation of individual existence culminates, and a purely personal immortality is involved. It is evidently in connection with this that the loss of a dead man's bones, which according to the custom prescribed by the Sutras should be collected after cremation, is regarded by his friends as disgraceful, as the severest punishment of arrogance (xi. 6, 3, 11; xiv. 6, 9, 28)."§

[The following passage from the same work (x. 4, 3, 9) is not really inconsistent with the above view, though at first sight it might appear so. For the gods must be supposed, according to the story, to have become immortal without parting with

* Compare *S.* P. Br. x. 4, 3, 1.

† x. 1, 5, 4.

‡ iv. 6, 1, 1.

§ xi. 6, 3, 11; and xi. 6, 9, 28 (=Brhad Aranyaka Upanishad, iii. 9, 26; p. 210 f. of Roer's English translation). Compare 1 Kings xiii. 22; and Jeremiah viii. 1, 2.

their bodies; whereas men were not to enjoy immortality without "shuffling off their mortal coil." A subsequent resumption of their bodies in a glorified state is not, however, thereby excluded: "Death said to the gods (who had become immortal by performing certain rites), 'in the very same way all men (also) shall become immortal; then what portion will remain for me?' The gods replied, 'Henceforward no other being shall become immortal with his body, when thou shalt have seized that part (the body). Now every one who is to become immortal through knowledge or by work, shall become immortal after parting with his body.' This which they said 'by knowledge or by work,' means that knowledge which is Agni, that work which is Agni."]

Professor Weber proceeds: "But whereas in the oldest times, immortality in the abodes of the blessed, where milk and honey flow (xi 5, 6, 4)* is regarded as the reward of virtue or wisdom, whilst the sinner or the fool is, after a short life, doomed to the annihilation of his personal existence, the doctrine of the Brahmanas is that after death all are born again in the next world, where they are recompensed according to their deeds, the good being rewarded and the wicked punished (vi. 2, 2, 27; x. 6, 3, 1; xi. 2, 7, 23)."†

[The Satapatha Brahmana, however, also contains the conception of a higher state than that of desire and gratification, in a passage (x. 5, 4, 15) where it is said: "This soul is the end of all this. It abides in the midst of all the waters. It is supplied with all objects of desire. For the waters are all the objects of desire.‡ This (soul) is free from desire, and (yet) possesses all the objects of desire, for it desires nothing. On this subject there is this verse: 'By knowledge men ascend to that condition in which desires have passed away. Thither gifts do not reach, nor austere devotees who are destitute of knowledge.'§ For a person who does not possess this knowledge does not attain that world by gifts or by rigorous abstraction. It pertains only to those who have such knowledge."]

Prof. Weber adds in a note: "According to a very ancient conception, the soul, after being breathed forth from the body,

* xi. 5, 6, 3 f. Compare Satap. Br. xi. 5, 7, 6; and A. V. iv. 34, 6, 7.

† vi. 2, 2, 27; x. 6, 3, 1.

‡ Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 2, 6: "In the waters all objects of desire are contained."

§ This verse is quoted in Sankara's Commentary on the Brahma Sutras, pp. 911 and 952, of the edit. in Bibl. Ind.

ascends to the abodes of the blessed on the wings of the air, of the wind (compare A. V. xviii. 2, 21 f. quoted above), having itself been changed into an aerial form. With this is connected the later idea of the resolution of the senses of the dying into fire, sun, moon, wind, and the regions of the sky ;* and the still more modern and systematic notion of their being resolved into the five elements. In one place (i. 9, 3, 10)† I find the idea that the rays of the sun are themselves the pious (*sukrtah*); and in another (vi. 5, 4, 8)‡ the conception that the stars are the lights of the righteous who go to heaven. With this the similar statement in the Indralokagamana may be compared."

The following are some other passages of the Brahmanas (not cited by Prof. Weber) regarding future rewards. In the *S.* P. Br. xi. 6, 2, 5, it is said : "He who sacrifices thus obtains perpetual prosperity and renown, and conquers for himself an union with these two gods (*Aditya* and *Agni*), and an abode in the same sphere." In the same work (ii. 6, 4, 8) it is said that those who offer particular sacrifices become Agni, Varuna, or Indra, and attain to union, and to the same spheres, with those gods respectively. And in the same way the Taittiriya Brahmana states the possessors of particular kinds of knowledge attain to union with Aditya (the Sun), and to union, and to the same spheres, with Agni, with Vayu, with Indra, with Brhaspati, with Prajapati, and with Brahma, or Brahmâ (I know not which is intended). In the same work, iii. 9, 11, mention is made of a certain sage who through his knowledge became a golden swan, went to heaven and attained to union with the sun. In A. V. xix. 71, 1, a Brahma-loka is mentioned. [For the Puranic idea of the world of Brahma, see Wilson's Vishnu Purana, 4to. ed., p. 48, note 3, and p. 213, note 3 (or for the first of these passages, Prof. Hall's 8vo. ed., vol. i. p. 98).]

In the *S.* P. Br. xi. 5, 6, 9, it is declared that a man who reads the Vedas in a particular manner is "freed from dying again, and attains to a sameness of nature with Brahma (*Brahmanah satmatam*). Even if he cannot read with much power, let him read one sentence relating to the god."

The following curious passage is from the Aitareya Brahmana, iii. 44 : "The Sun neither ever sets or rises. When people think he sets by day, he (only) turns himself round after reaching the end of that (portion of time), and makes night below and

* x. 3, 3, 8. † i. 9, 3, 10. ‡ vi. 5, 4, 8.

day above. Then when people think he rises out of night, he (only) turns himself round after reaching the end of that (portion of time), and makes day below and night above. In truth he never sets. The man who knows this, that the sun never sets, enjoys union and sameness of nature with him, and abides in the same sphere."*

In another passage (ii. 17) the same work declares how far heaven is from earth: "He who desires heaven should repeat a thousand (verses). For the heavenly world is distant from hence a thousand days' journey on horseback."

In the Satapatha Brahmana, vi. 6, 2, 4, it is said that the door of heaven (*svarga-loka*) is situated in the north-eastern regions, while that by which the heaven of the Pitris is entered, lies to the south-east (ibid., xiii. 8, 1, 5).†

In the legend on future retribution quoted by Weber, as above stated, from the same Brahmana (xi. 6, 1, 1 ff.) it is related that Bhrgu, the son of Varuna, visited, by his father's command, the four points of the compass, where he saw men being cut into pieces and eaten by other men, who when questioned by Bhrgu, declared that they were revenging on their victims the treatment which they had received at their hands in the other world (on earth). These victims are allegorically explained in the Brahmana as representing the trees, animals, plants, and waters employed in sacrifice. But Prof. Weber is of opinion that the story is an old popular legend regarding the penal retribution executed by the former sufferers themselves on those who had oppressed them while on earth, and that the narrative had been appropriated by the priests and introduced into the Brahmana to relieve the monotony of its tedious disquisitions, and explained in the manner I have stated.

I return to Professor Weber's discussion on the doctrine of the Brahmanas regarding a future state.

"The Brahmanas, however," he continues, "are not explicit in regard to the duration of these rewards and punishments; and it is here that we have to seek the origin of the doctrine of transmigration. To men of the mild disposition and reflective spirit of the Indians, it would not appear that reward and punishment could be eternal. They would conceive that it must be

* See Dr. Haug's Aitareya Brahmana, ii. p. 242. I differ from that scholar in translating *parastât* "above," and not "on the other side."

† See Weber, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, ix. 243,308.

possible by atonement and purification to become absolved from the punishment of the sins committed in this short life. And in the same way they could not imagine that the reward of virtues practised during the same brief period could continue for ever. The dogma of transmigration agreed with both of these suppositions, though in another respect it was most unsatisfactory; for where was either a beginning or an end to be sought? The spirit of enquiry sought to escape from this dilemma by systematic refinements (*sonderung*), but only became more hopelessly entangled: and at length it was only extricated by cutting the knot, by succumbing to the influence of the aspiration after complete redemption from the bondage of the world, and of individual existence; so that that destiny, which was in earlier times regarded as the greatest punishment, was now recognized as the highest reward. This mode of cutting the knot is the work of Buddha and Buddhism: and the best proof that the fundamental substance of the Brahmanas is pre-Buddhistic is (apart from all other evidence) to be found in this, that they do not recognize the existence of the dilemma in question, that they know nothing of the contempt of life to which we have alluded, but rather express with directness and naivety a fresh and genuine love of existence, and a yearning after immortality. It is only some passages of the Brhadaranyaka and of the Chhandogya Upanishad, which form an exception to this assertion; and on that account they must be held evidently to belong to the period immediately preceding Buddha's appearance, or even to that which followed it."

It does not quite agree with the conclusion here announced that the passage I have quoted above from Satapatha Brahmana, xi. 5, 6, 9, appears to speak of union with Brahma;—unless this is to be understood in some other sense than the later one of absorption into his essence.

Though Indra, Varuna, and other gods are represented in the Mahabharata and Puranas as leading a sensual and immoral life,* and though the Apsarases, or celestial nymphs, are expressly declared to be courtezans,† from the subject of most voluptuous descriptions,‡ and are represented as being sent by

* See my Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. p. 41.

† Ibid., p. 394; and Ramayana, i. 45, 35 (ed. Schlegel), and i. 46, 2 (Gorresio).

‡ See Mahabharata, iii. 1821 ff.; Ramayana, Uttara Kanda, xxvi. 16 ff. (Bombay ed.).

the gods from time to time to seduce austere sages into unchastity, and are promised, as we have already seen, as the companions of warriors in a future life,—yet the pictures drawn of paradise in those works are not always of such a gross character. In the account of heaven contained in the Mahabharata, iii. 15441 ff., there is no promise of any sensual gratification held out. It appears (vv. 15407 ff) that a sage named Mudgala had lived a life of poverty, piety, and self-restraint, practising hospitality according to his humble means, with the grain which he gleaned, and which (like the widow of Zarephath's oil) never underwent diminution. At length another holy man, called Durvasas, famous in Indian tradition for his irascible temper, came to prove Mudgala's powers of endurance; and six times devoured all the food which the hospitable saint possessed. Finding that the temper of his host was altogether unaffected by these trials, Durvasas expressed the highest admiration of his virtue and declared that he would go bodily to heaven. As he spoke these words a messenger of the gods arrived in a celestial car, and called upon Mudgala to ascend to a state of complete perfection. The sage, however, desired first to learn the advantages and drawbacks of the heavenly state, and the messenger proceeded to tell him (vv. 15441 ff.) first what kind of people go there, viz., those who have performed austerities or celebrated great sacrifices, the truthful, the orthodox, the righteous, the self-restrained, the meek, the liberal, the brave, etc. These celestial abodes were, he said, shining, glorious, and filled with all delights. There is seen the vast golden mountain Meru, and the holy garden Nandana, etc., where the righteous disport. There hunger, thirst, weariness, cold, heat, fear, are unknown; there is nothing disgusting, or disagreeable; the scents are delightful; the sounds are pleasant to the ear and mind: there is no sorrow, nor lamentation, nor decay, nor labour, nor envy, nor jealousy, nor delusion. There the blessed are clothed with glorious bodies, which are produced by their works, and not by any father or mother. Their garlands are fragrant and unfading; they ride in aerial cars. Beyond these regions there are, however, others of a higher character—those to which the *r*shis who have been purified by their works proceed. Still further on are those where the *R*bhus dwell; and where there is no annoyance *occasioned by women (stri-krtas tapah)*, or by envy arising from the sight of worldly grandeur. The blessed there do not subsist on oblations, nor do they feed upon ambrosia; they have

celestial, and not coarse material bodies. These eternal gods of gods *do not desire pleasure;* they do not change with the revolutions of Kalpas (great mundane ages). How can they then be subject either to decay or death? They experience neither joy, nor pleasure, nor delight, neither happiness nor suffering, neither love nor hatred. That highest state, so difficult to attain, and *which is beyond the reach of those who seek after pleasure,* is desired even by the gods. This celestial felicity, the messenger says, is now within Mudgala's reach,—the fruit of his good deeds. The speaker next, according to his promise, explains to the sage the drawbacks of the heavenly state. As the fruit of works done on earth is enjoyed in heaven, whilst no other new works are performed there from which new rewards could spring, this enjoyment is cut off from its root, and must therefore come to an end. For this world is the place for works, while the other is the place for enjoyment. This loss of gratifications to which the heart has become devoted, and the dissatisfaction and pain which arise in the minds of those who have sunk to a lower estate, from beholding the more brilliant prosperity of others, is intolerable. To this must be added the consciousness, and the bewilderment, of those who so descend, and the fear of falling which they experience when their garlands begin to fade. Such are the defects which attach to all existence till it is absorbed in Brahma. But the state of those who have fallen from heaven is not altogether without compensation. As a result of their previous good deeds they are born in a condition of happiness; though if they are not vigilant, they sink still lower. Having given this explanation, the messenger of the gods invites Mudgala to accompany him to paradise. The saint, however, after consideration, replies that he can have nothing to do with a state of happiness which is vitiated by so great defects, and the termination of which is followed by so great misery. He has therefore no desire for heaven; and seeks only that eternal abode where there is no sorrow, nor distress, nor change. He then asks the celestial messenger what other sphere there is which is free from all defects. The messenger replies that above the abode of Brahma is the pure eternal light, the highest sphere of Vishnu, who is regarded as the supreme Brahma. Thither none can proceed who are devoted to objects of sense, or who are the slaves of dishonesty, avarice, anger, delusion, or malice; but only the unselfish, the humble, those who are indifferent to pain and pleasure, those whose senses are under restraint, and those who

practise contemplation and fix their minds on the Deity. The sage then dismissed the messenger of the gods, began to practise ascetic virtues, becoming indifferent to praise and blame, regarding clods, stones, and gold as alike. Pure knowledge led to fixed contemplation; and that again imparted strength and complete comprehension, whereby he attained supreme eternal perfection, in the nature of quietude *(nirvâna)*.*

The difference between the results of meritorious works, and of knowledge, so familiar to the religious philosophy of the Hindus, is clearly set forth in the following verses of the Mahabharata, xii. 8810 ff.: "By works a creature is bound; by knowledge he is liberated; wherefore devotees gifted with perfect insight perform no works. Through works a creature is born again after death, with a body (of one or other) of sixteen descriptions; by knowledge he becomes the Eternal, Imperceptible, and Undecaying. Some men of little understanding eulogise works; and so embrace with delight the entanglements of corporeal existence. But those who have reached the highest intelligence, and a perfect comprehension of righteousness, do not commend works, as a person drinking from a river thinks little of a well. The results which a man obtains from works are pleasure and pain, prosperity and adversity; by knowledge he gains that condition in which his griefs are at an end, in which he dies not, in which his birth is not repeated, from which he does not return; in which that supreme Brahma exists imperceptible, unchanging etc. etc."

* See the other passages quoted, *s.v.*, by Bohtlingk and Roth, from Brahmanical writings where this word is used. Its employment by Buddhists to express the highest destiny of mundane creatures is well known.

ART. V.—*Hymns from the Vedas, referring to human character, dispositions, feelings, passions, and circumstances.*

The hymns of the Rig Veda are, as is well known, almost entirely of a religious character, designed, or at least, adapted, for recitation at the worship of the various popular deities, or at some of the ceremonials connected with various important events in the domestic or public life of the ancient Indians. Among these, however, are interspersed a few of a different description, which, from the wide celebrity they had acquired, were carefully preserved by the descendants of their authors, or by other interested persons, and have been incorporated in the great collection of sacred songs. Some of these productions, like the colloquy of Yama and Yami (translated in a former paper), the very obscure conversation between the hero Pururavas and the Apsaras Urvasi (R. V. x. 95),* and the Vrishakapi hymn (R. V. x. 86), derive their importance from the interlocutors being personages regarded as divine, or ranked among the ancestors of the human race. Others, like the 72nd, the 90th, and the 129th hymns of the 10th Book (also quoted in previous articles) were venerated from the nature of the topics which they handled, or the depth or gravity of the speculations which they contain. Others, again, such as the hymns referred to by Professor Roth in his dissertation "on the historical matter contained in the Rig Veda,"† would possess an interest for the descendants of the contending priestly races to whose rivalries they made allusion, and might even be valued for the purposes of imprecation to which they could be applied.‡ And those compositions which celebrate the liberality of different princes to their domestic priests would naturally be handed down with care by the successors of those favoured individuals.

In the following paper I shall adduce some other hymns, both from the Rig and the Atharva Vedas, which are only in part of a religious character, and possess a greater general interest than the bulk of those with which they are associated,

* See Professor Max Muller's Essay on Comparative Mythology, in the Oxford Essays for 1856, See also Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, pp. 153 ff. and 230.

† Sur Litteratur and Geschichte des Weda, pp. 87.

‡ See Sanskrit Texts, i. 127 ff.

from the references which they make to human character, dispositions, feelings, passions, and circumstances; from the light which they throw on the progress of sacerdotal pretensions, or from some other feature of their contents. In some of these hymns it will be seen that a considerable amount of shrewdness and worldly wisdom is expressed in a sententious form.

The first hymn which I shall adduce, addressed to the goddess of forest solitude, is distinguished by the poetical feeling which pervades it, and the natural manner in which the emotions arising from the situation there described are depicted, though some of the allusions which it contains are difficult to explain or comprehend. It is repeated in the Taittiriya Brahmana, and explained by the Commentator on that work. (See also Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 132).

R. V. x. 146. 1. "Aranyani, Aranyani, thou who seemest to lose thyself there, why dost thou not ask [the way to] the village? Does not terror seize thee (at the solitude)? 2. When the chichchika (a bird) answers to the roar of bulls when it is uttered, flying about as if with cymbals, then [by their voices] Aranyani is lauded [as if by hymns]. 3. And the cows seem to eat, and the house appears to be seen, and at evening Aranyani seems to discharge the carts.* 4. One man calls to his cow, another fells a tree; a man lingering in the forest (in Aranyani) fancies that she [or some one] has screamed. 5. Aranyani is not [herself] murderous, if no one else (a tiger, etc.) assails; but after eating of sweet fruit, a man rests there at his pleasure. 6. I laud Aranyani, the mother of wild beasts, the unctuous-scented, the fragrant, who yields abundance of food, though she has no hinds to till her."

The next hymn which I shall quote refers to the great variety by which the aims and pursuits of different men are characterized. It is distinguished by a vein of naive observation, not unmingled with satire; and is curious as revealing to us the occupations pursued by the poet's father and mother, though it makes no reference to the class to which they belonged.

Rig Veda, ix. 112. 1. "We different men have all our various imaginations and designs. The carpenter seeks something that is broken, the doctor a patient, the priest some one

* Professor Aufrecht thinks this clause (*sakatír iva sarjati*) should be rendered, 'In the evening the forest moves like a cart," with reference to the agitation of the branches by the evening air.

who will offer libations. O Indu (Soma), flow forth for Indra. 2. With driedup sticks, with birds' feathers, with metals, the artizan continually seeks after a man with plenty of gold. O Indu, etc., etc. 3. (=Nirukta, vi. 6) I am a poet, my father is a doctor, and my mother is a grinder of corn. With our different views, seeking to get gain, we run after [our respective objects] as after cattle. O Indu, etc. 4. The draught horse desires an easy-going carriage ; merry companions a laugh ; the female sex the male ; and frogs a pond. O Indu," etc.

The next hymn, which may possibly be the production of one who lays before us the sad results of his own bitter experience, describes with great vividness, graphic power, and truth of observation the seductions and miseries of gambling, which, we see, were as acutely felt in those early ages as they are in these later times.

Rig Veda, x. 34. 1. (=Nirukta ix. 8). "The tumbling, air-born [products] of the great Vibhidaka tree (*i.e.* the dice) delight me as they continue to roll on the dice-board. The exciting dice enchant me like a draught of the soma-plant growing on mount Mujavat. 2. She (the gamester's own wife) never wronged or despised me. She was kind to me, and to my friends. But I for the sake of the partial dice, have spurned my devoted spouse. 3. My mother-in-law detests me ; my wife rejects me. In his need [the gamester] finds no comforter. I cannot discover what is the enjoyment of the gambler any more than I can perceive what is the happiness of a worn-out hack horse. 4. Others pay court to the wife of the man whose wealth is coveted by the impetuous dice. His father, mother, brothers, say of him, "We know nothing of him ; take him away bound. 5 When I resolve not to be tormented by them, because I am abandoned by my friends who withdraw from me,—yet as soon as the brown dice, when they are thrown, make a rattling sound, I hasten to their rendezvous, like a woman to her paramour. 6. The gamester comes to the assembly, glowing in body, and inquiring, "shall I win ?" The dice inflame his desire, making over his winnings to his opponent. 7. Hooking, piercing, deceitful, vexatious, delighting to torment, the dice dispense transient gifts, and again ruin the winner ; they are covered with honey, but destroy the gambler. 8. Their troop of fifty-three disports itself [disposing men's destinies] like the god Savitri whose ordinances never fail. They bow not before the wrath even of the fiercest. The king himself

makes obeisance to them. 9. They roll downward; they bound upward. Having no hands, they overcome him who has. These celestial coals, when thrown on the diceboard, scorch the heart, though cold themselves. 10. The destitute wife of the gamester is distressed, and so too is the mother of a son who goes she knows not whither. In debt and seeking after money, the gambler approaches with trepidation the houses of other people at night. 11. It vexes the gamester to see his own wife, and then to observe the wives and happy homes of others. In the morning he yokes the brown horses (the dice); by the time when the fire goes out he has sunk into a degraded wretch. 12. He who is the general of your band, the first king of your troop,—to him I stretch forth [my] ten [fingers] toward the east [in reverence] :* I spare no expense [in my offering]. That I declare with perfect truth. 13. Never play with dice; practice husbandry; rejoice in thy property, esteeming it sufficient. 'There, o gamester, are thy cows; [this is] thy wife;'—so the adorable Savitri addresses me. 14. Be friendly [o dice]; be auspicious to us; do not bewitch us powerfully with your enchantment. Let your hostile wrath abate. Let others be subject to the fetters of the brown ones (the dice)."

That the passion for gambling prevailed very extensively at the time when the hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-vedas were composed is clear, from various other allusions to the practice which we find there. Thus in R. V. vii. 86, dice are mentioned along with wine, anger, thoughtlessness, etc., as causes of sin. The following verses from the A. V. prove the same point:

A. V. vii. 50-1. "As the lightning every day strikes the tree irresistibly, so may I to-day irresistibly smite the gamester with the dice. 2. May the wealth of the rich and of the poor unresisting be collected from every side into my hand as winnings."

vii. 109. 1. "This reverence be paid to the brown [die], who is ruler among the dice. With butter I worship Kali; may he thus be auspicious to us. 2. Bring, o Agni, butter to the Apsarases, but dust, sand, and water to the dice. Seeking oblations according to their several shares, the gods delight in both offerings. 3. The Apsarases hold a festival between the oblation and the sun. May they anoint my hands with butter, and overwhelm the gamester who is my opponent. 4. Dispense

* Compare A. V. v. 28, 11; and Vajasaneyi Sanhita, xvi. 64.

bad luck to our adversary, but moisten us with butter. Strike, as lightning does a tree, the man who plays against us."

vi. 118, 1. "Whatever sins we have committed with our hands, seeking to obtain the host of dice,—remit to us to-day that debt, ye Apsarases Ugrampasya and Ugrajit."

A. V. iv. 38. 1. "I invoke hither the skilfully-playing Apsaras who cuts up and conquers, and gets gains in the game of dice. 2. I invoke hither the skilfully-playing Apsaras, who collects and scatters, and receives gains in the game of dice. 3. May she who dances about with the dice when she wins by gaming, grant gain to us, and obtain superiority, through her skill. May she come to us with abundance of riches. Let them not conquer our money. 4. I invoke hither the joyful and exulting Apsarases—those [goddesses] who delight in dice, and bring with them grief and anger."

It will be seen from these verses that the Apsarases are intimately connected with gambling. In A. V. ii. 2, 4, they are said to be "fond of dice," and "soul bewitching."

The next two hymns which I proceed to quote are in praise of generosity. The first of them celebrates liberality to the destitute in general; the second eulogizes the same virtue when exhibited in giving presents to priests.

Rig Veda, x. 117. 1. "The gods have not ordained hunger to be our destruction. Even those who are full-fed are overtaken by various forms of death (*lit.* deaths). The prosperity of the liberal man never decays; while the illiberal finds no comforter. 2. He who, himself well provided with sustenance, hardens his heart against the poor man who approaches him, starving, and who has long courted him, desirous of food,—such a man meets with none to cheer him. 3. He is the bountiful man who gives to the lean beggar who comes to him craving food. Success attends that man in the sacrifice, and he secures for himself a friend in the future. 4. He is no friend who bestows nothing on his friend who waits upon him, seeking for sustenance. Let every one depart from such a man;—his house is no home,—and look out for some one else who is liberal, even though he be a stranger. 5. Let the powerful man be generous to the suppliant; let him look along the path [of futurity]. For, oh, riches revolve like the wheels of a chariot: they come, now to one, now to another. 6. In vain the fool obtains food: I tell the truth; it becomes his destruction (comp. v. 1). He nourishes neither his friend nor his companion. He who keeps

his food to himself, has his sin to himself. 7. The ploughshare furrowing the ground, brings men plenty. A man moving onward with his feet, accomplishes his journey. A priest who speaks is more acceptable than one who is silent. A kinsman who is beneficent excels one who is stingy. 8. A one-footed being advances faster than a two-footed. The two-footed comes after the three-footed. The four-footed follows in the rear of the two-footed, and moves on observing his steps. 9. The two hands, though alike, do not perform an equal amount of work. Two cows with the same mother do not yield the same quantity of milk. Two men, though twins, have not the same strength. And two others, though kinsmen, are not equally liberal."

Rig Veda, x. 107. 1. "The great [lustre] of these opulent ones has been manifested. The whole living [world] has been liberated from darkness. The great light given by the Fathers* has arrived. The broad path of Largess has been beheld. 2. The givers of gifts abide aloft in the sky; the bestowers of horses live with the Sun; the givers of gold attain immortality; the bestowers of raiment prolong their lives. 4. A gift which is a satisfaction of the gods, an offering to the deities, [proceeds] not from the illiberal; they bestow nothing; and many men of extensive liberality are bountiful merely through fear of reproach..... ....5. The giver of gifts, invited, advances first; he walks in the front as leader.† I regard as the king of men him who first presented a gift. 5. They call him a rishi, a priest, a reverend chanter of hymns and reciter of verses,—he knows the three forms of the resplendent (Agni),—the man who was the first to crown [his religious service] with a gift. 7. Largess bestows a cow, a horse, silver (?) and gold. Largess bestows (?) food, which is our life The wise man makes largess-giving his breastplate. 8. Bountiful men neither die nor fall into calamity; they suffer neither wrong nor pain. Their liberality confers on them this whole world as well as heaven. 9. The bountiful conquer for themselves first, a pleasant abode, a well-dressed wife, and a draught of wine; they conquer those who walk in the front (?), uninvited. 10. A fleet horse is trained for the generous man;

* Compare R. V. x. 68, 11.

† Compare R. V. iv. 50, 8 f. See Professor Wilson's translation, and note on *v.* 9, in p. 214; and Roth's Art. on Brahma and the Brahmans, Journ. Germ. Or. Society, i. 77 ff. See also the hymn from the A. V. iii. 19, next quoted in the text.

he obtains a brilliant damsel for his portion; this house of his resembles a lotus-pond, beautiful, embellished like a palace of the gods. 11. The liberal man is borne along by rapid horses. The car of largess rolls forward on easy wheels. Preserve, ye gods, the bountiful man in battle. He overcomes his enemies in the fight."

The next hymn, from the Atharva Veda, sets forth with great liveliness and vigour the advantages accruing to princes from the employment of a domestic priest.

Atharva Veda, iii. 19. 1. "May this prayer of mine be successful; may the vigour and strength be complete, may the power of perfect and undecaying, of those of whom I am the victorious priest *(purohita)*. 2. I fortify their kingdom, and augment their energy, valour, and force. I break the arms of their enemies with this oblation. 3. May all those who fight against our wise and prosperous [prince] sink downward, and be prostrated. With my prayer I destroy his enemies, and raise up his friends. 4. May those of whom I am the priest be sharper than an axe, sharper than fire, sharper than Indra's thunderbolt. 5. I strengthen their weapons; I prosper their kingdom rich in heroes. May their power be undecaying and victorious. May all the gods foster their designs. 6. May their valorous deeds, o Maghavat, burst forth; may the noise of the conquering heroes arise; may their distinct shouts, their clear yells, go up; may the gods, the Maruts with Indra as their chief, march forward with their host. 7. Go, conquer, ye warriors: may your arms be strong. Ye with the sharp arrows, smite those whose bows are powerless; ye whose weapons and arms are terrible (smite) the feeble. 8. When discharged, fly forth, o arrow, sped by prayer. Vanquish the foes, assail, slay all the choicest of them; let not one escape."

The two following hymns from the Atharva Veda declare the guilt, the peril, and disastrous consequences of oppressing Brahmans, and robbing them of their property. The threats and imprecations of haughty sacerdotal insolence could scarcely be expressed more energetically.

Atharva Veda, v. 18. 1. "King, the gods have not given thee [this cow] to eat. Do not, O Rajanya (man of royal descent), seek to devour the Brahman's cow, which is not to be eaten. 2. The wicked Rajanya, unlucky in play, and self-destroyed, will eat the Brahman's cow, saying, 'let me live to-day, [if I can] not [live] to-morrow.' 3. This cow, clothed with a

skin, contains deadly poison, like a snake. Beware, Rajanya, she is ill-flavoured, and must not be eaten. 4. He [who eats her] forfeits his strength, destroys his own splendour, consumes everything like a fire which has been kindled. The man who looks upon the Brahman as mere food to be eaten up, drinks serpent's poison. 5. Indra kindles a fire in the heart of that contemner of the gods who slays the Brahman, esteeming him to be inoffensive, and foolishly covets his property. Heaven and earth abhor the man who [so] acts. 6. A Brahman is not to be wronged, as fire [must not be touched] by a man who cherishes his own body. Soma is his (the Brahman's) kinsman, and Indra shields him from imprecations. 7. The wicked (?) man who thinks the priests' food is sweet while he is eating it, swallows [the cow] bristling with a hundred sharp points, but cannot digest her. 8. The priest's tongue is a bow-string, his voice is a barb, and his windpipe is arrow-points smeared with fire. With these god-directed, and heart-subduing bows, the priest pierces the scorners of the gods. Brahmans bearing sharp arrows, armed with missiles, never miss their mark when they discharge a shaft. Shooting with fervour [austerity ?] and with anger, they pierce [the enemy] from afar. 10. The descendants of Vitahavya who ruled over a thousand men, and were ten hundred in number, were overcome after they had eaten a Brahman's cow. 11. The cow herself, when she was slaughtered, destroyed them,—those men who cooked the last she-goat of Kesaraprabandha. 12. Those hundred persons whom the earth shook off, after they had wronged the priestly race, were overwhelmed in an inconceivable manner. 13. He lives among mortals a scorner of the gods; infected with poison he becomes reduced to a skeleton; he who wrongs a Brahman the kinsman of the deities, fails to attain to the heaven of the Forefathers. 14. Agni is called our leader; Soma our kinsman. Indra neutralizes imprecations [directed against us]; this the wise understand. 15. Like a poisoned arrow, o king, like a serpent, o lord of cows,—such is the dreadful shaft of the Brahman, with which he pierces his despisers."

Atharva Veda, v. 19. 1. "The Srinjayas, descendants of Vitahavya, waxed exceedingly; they almost touched the sky; but after they had injured Bhrigu, they were overwhelmed. 2. When men pierced Brihatsaman, a Brahman descended from Angiras, a ram with two rows of teeth swallowed their children. 3. Those who spit, or throw filth (?) upon a Brahman, sit eating

hair in the midst of a stream of blood. 4. So long as this Brahman's cow writhes (?) when being cooked, she destroys the glory of the kingdom ; no vigorous hero is born there. 5. It is cruel to slaughter her ; her ill-flavoured flesh is thrown away. When her milk is drunk, that is esteemed a sin among the Forefathers. 6. Whenever a king, fancying himself mighty, seeks to devour a Brahman, that kingdom is broken up, in which a Brahman suffers. Becoming eight-footed, four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-faced, two-tongued, she (the cow) shatters the kingdom of the oppressor of Brahmans. 8. (Ruin) overflows that kingdom, as water swamps a leaky boat: calamity smites that country in which a priest is wronged. 9. Even trees, o Narada, repel, and refuse their shade to, the man who claims a right to the property of a Brahman. This [property], as king Varuna hath said, has been turned into a poison by the gods. No one who has eaten a Brahman's cow continues to watch (*i.e.* to rule) over a country. 11. Those nine nineties [of persons] whom the earth shook off, when they had wronged the priestly race, were overwhelmed in an inconceivable manner (see v. 12 of the preceding hymn). 12. The gods have declared that the cloth wherewith a dead man's feet are bound shall be thy pall, thou oppressor of priests. 13. The tears which flow from a vanquished man as he laments,—such is the portion of water which the gods have assigned to thee, thou oppressor of priests. 14. The gods have allotted to thee that portion of water wherewith men wash the dead, and moisten their beards. 15. The rain of Mitra and Varuna does not descend on the oppresssor of priests. For him the battle has never a successful issue; nor does he bring his friend into subjection." The attention of the reader is directed to the intensity of contempt and abhorrence which is sought to be conveyed by the coarse imagery contained in *vv.* 3, and 12-14, of the last preceding hymn.

In another hymn of the Atharva Veda, v. 17, the two following verses occur regarding the prerogative of Brahmans ; 8. "And if a woman have had ten former husbands, not Brahmans, and a Brahman take her hand (*i.e.* marry her), he is the only husband. 9. It is a Brahman only who is a husband, and not a Rajanya, or a Vaisya. The Sun marches on declaring that to the five tribes of men."

The four hymns of the A. V. which follow contain incantations designed to save persons suffering under dangerous dis-

eases, and on the point of death, from death, or rather perhaps to recall their spirits after their separation from the body. They supply various illustrations of the ideas entertained by the Indians of the period when they were composed regarding the vital principle, the relations of the different senses to the several elements, the deities by whom men's tenure of life was regulated, the power of incantations to arrest the approach of doom, and other kindred particulars.

Atharva Veda, v. 30. 1. "From thy vicinity, from thy vicinity, from a distance, from thy vicinity [I call] to thee: remain here; do not follow, do not follow, the early Fathers. I firmly hold back thy breath. 2. Whatever incantations any kinsman or stranger has uttered against thee,—with my voice I declare thy release and deliverance from them all. 3. Whatever hurt thou hast done, or curse thou hast spoken, in thy folly, against woman or man, with my voice, etc. 4. If thou liest there in consequence of any sin committed by thy mother, or thy father,* with my voice, etc. 5. Receive the medicine which thy father, mother, sister and brother offer to thee. I make thee long-lived. 6. Come (?) hither, o man, with thy entire soul; do not follow the two messengers of Yama; come to the abodes of the living. 7. Return when called, knowing the outlet of the path, the ascent, the advance, the road of every living man. 8. Fear not; thou shalt not die; I make thee long-lived. I have charmed out of thy members the consumption by which they are wasted. 9. The consumption which racks and wastes thy limbs, and sickens thy heart, has flown away to a distance like a hawk, overcome by my word. 10. The two sages, Alert and Watchful, the sleepless, and the vigilant, these the guardians of thy life, are awake both day and night. 11. May this adorable Agni rise here to thee as a sun. Rise up from deep death,† yea even from black darkness. 12. Reverence to Yama, reverence to Death, reverence to the Fathers, and to those who guide us. I place in front of this [sick] man, for his security, Agni who knows how to carry him across. 13. Let his breath, let his soul, let his sight come, and then his strength; let his body acquire sensation, and stand firm upon its feet. 14. Provide him, Agni, with breath, and with sight; restore him, furnished

* Compare the Taittiriya Brahmana, iii. 7, 12, 3 f. Compare also R. V. vii. 86, 5.

† Compare the *àipus òlethros* of Homer.

with a body, and with strength. Thou hast the knowledge of immortality; let him not depart, or become a dweller in a house of clay. 15. Let not thy inhaled breath cease; let not thy exhaled breath vanish. Let the sun, the lord, raise thee up from death by his rays. 16. This tongue speaks within, bound, convulsive. By thee, I have charmed away the consumption, and the hundred torments of the fever. 17. This world is the dearest, unconquered by the gods. To whatever death thou wast destined when thou wast born—we call after thee, do not die before thou art worn out by old age."

Atharva Veda, vii. 53. 1. "Brihaspati, thou hast delivered us from dwelling in the realm of Yama, from the curse. Asvins, —ye who, o Agni, are the two physicians of the Gods,—ye have repelled death from us by your powers. 2. Continue associated, ye two breaths, inspired and expired; forsake not his body: may they, united, remain with thee here. Live prosperously a hundred autumns. Agni is thy splendid protector, and lord. 3. May thy life which has been dissipated afar, may thy breaths, come back to thee again. Agni has snatched it from the lap of Nirriti (Destruction): and I introduce it again into thyself. 4. Let not his inspiration abandon him, nor his expiration quit him and depart. I commit him to the seven Rishis; may they carry him on in health to old age. 5 Enter into him, ye two breaths, like two steers forcing their way into a cow-pen. May this man flourish here, an unmolested depositary of old age. 6. We invigorate thy life. I drive away consumption from thee. May this excellent Agni sustain our life on every side. Ascending from the darkness to the uppermost heaven, we have reached, among the gods, the god Surya, the highest luminary."

Atharva Veda, viii. 1. 1. "Reverence to Death the Ender! May thy inhaled and exhaled breaths rejoice here. May this man remain here united with his spirit in the domain of the sun, in the world of deathlessness. 2. Bhaga and Soma with his filaments, the divine Maruts, Indra, and Agni, have raised him up to health. Here is thy spirit, here thy breath, here thy life, here thy soul We rescue thee from the bonds of Nirriti by a divine utterance. 4. Rise up hence, o man. Casting off the fetters of death, do not sink downward. Do not depart from this world, from the sight of Agni and the Sun. 5. May the Wind, Matarisvan, blow for thee; may the waters shower immortality (or ambrosia) on thee; may the Sun shine healingly upon thy body; may Death pity thee; do not die. 6. Thou

must ascend, o man, and not descend ; I give thee life and vital power. Mount this pleasant and imperishable car ; then when aged, thou shalt declare a festival.* 7. Let not thy soul go away thither, let it not disappear ; do not wander away from the living ; do not follow the Fathers. May all the gods preserve thee. 8. Do not long after the departed, who conduct men afar. Ascend from the darkness ; come into the light. We lay hold of thy hands. 9. Let not the two dogs sent by Yama,† the black and the brindled [seize thee]. Come hither ; do not hesitate ; do not remain here with averted mind. 10. Do not follow this path ; it is terrible ; I speak of that by which thou hast not hitherto gone. This, o man, is darkness ; do not enter it. Beyond, thou hast fear ; on this side, thou hast security. 11. May the fires which are in the waters preserve thee ; may the fire which men kindle preserve thee ; may Jatavedas Vaisvanara (the fire which is common to all men) preserve thee ; let not the celestial fire together with the lightning, consume thee. 12. Let not the flesh-devouring fire‡ be hostile to thee ; go far from that wicked one. May the sky, the earth, the sun, and moon, preserve thee ; may the air protect thee from the bolt of the gods. 13. May Wakeful and Watchful, may the sleepless and the waking preserve thee. May the guardian and the vigilant protect thee. 14. May they protect and guard you. To them be reverence. 15. May Vayu, Indra, Dhatri, and Savitri the deliverer, restore thee to converse with the living. Let not breath and strength abandon thee ; we call back thy spirit. 16. Let not any violent devourer, let not darkness find thee. May the Adityas and Vasus, with Indra and Agni, raise thee up to health. 17. The sky, the earth, Prajapati have rescued thee. The plants with Soma their king, have delivered thee from death. 18. Let this man remain here, o gods ; let him not depart hence to the other world. We rescue him from death with a charm of boundless efficacy *(sahasra-viryyena)*. 19. I have delivered thee from death ; may the vigorous breathe upon thee. Let not the she-devils with dishevelled hair, or those that howl dreadfully, yell at thee. 20. I have snatched thee ; I have caught thee ; thou hast returned renewed. I have got, o man perfect in thy members, thy entire eye, and thy entire life. 21. [Life] has breathed

* Compare R. V. x. 85, 17. † See A. V. v. 30, 6, above.

‡ There are three kinds of fire, the *kravyâd*, or funeral (here referred to), which devours dead bodies, the culinary *(âmâd)*, and the sacrificial. See the Vaj. S. i. 17, and the commentary there.

upon thee. Light has come to thee. Darkness has departed from thee. We remove from thee death, Nirriti and consumption."

Atharva Veda, viii. 2. 1. "Seize this boon of immortality; may long life, which cannot be cut off, be thine. I restore to thee breath and life; do not depart to the mist (*rajas*) or to darkness (*tamas*); do not die. 2. Come hither to the light of the living; I rescue thee that thou mayest survive a hundred autumns. Loosing the bands of death and imprecation, I lengthen out thy existence. 3. I have recovered thy breath from the wind, thine eye from the sun. I place in thee thy soul. Receive sensation in thy limbs. Speak, articulating with thy tongue. 4. I blow upon thee with the breath of bipeds, and of quadrupeds, as on Agni when he is born (*i.e.* on fire when kindled). I have paid reverence, o Death, to thine eye, and to thy breath. 5. Let this man live and not die. We restore him. I make for him a remedy. Death, do not kill the man. I invoke for his safety a vivifying....., living, delivering, strong, and powerful plant. 7. Befriend him; do not seize him; let him go; though he is thine only, let him abide here with all his strength; o Bhava and Sarva, be gracious; grant deliverance; remove evil, and confer life. 8. Befriend him, Death, pity him; let him arise. Unharmed, with all his limbs, hearing perfectly, let him obtain enjoyment during a life of a hundred years. 9. May the shaft of the gods pass thee by; I bring thee across from the mist (see v. 1); I have rescued thee from death. Removing far away the flesh-devouring Agni, I draw round thee a circle (see R. V. x. 18, 4) that thou mayest live. 10. Preserving him from that misty, egress of thine, o Death, which no one may escape by menaces, we make prayer a protection for him. 11. I give thee thy breaths, death at thy full age,* long life and health. I drive away all the messengers of Yama, who roam about, sent by the son of Vivasvat. 12. We remove afar evil, Nirriti, Grahi, and flesh-devouring Pisachas, and hurl all wicked Rakshases, as it were into darkness. 13. I seek thy life from the immortal, living, Agni Jatavedas. I procure that thou mayest suffer no injury, that thou mayest also be immortal. May this be the fortunate result. 14. May heaven and earth in unison be auspicious and innocuous to thee. May the sun shine and the

* Compare A. V. xix. 24, 4, 5, 8.

wind blow pleasantly to thy heart. May the celestial streaming waters drop down upon thee favourably. 15. May the plants be auspicious to thee. I have raised thee from the lower to the upper earth. There may both the sons of Aditi, the Sun and the Moon, preserve thee. 16. Whatever garment for clothing, or whatever girdle thou makest for thyself, we cause it to be agreeable to thy body; may it be soft to thy touch. 17. When, as a barber, thou shavest our hair and beard with a sharp and cleansing razor, while cleansing our face, do not rob us of our life. 18. Let the rice and barley be auspicious to thee, innocuous, undisturbing. These destroy consumption, and deliver from suffering. 19. Whatever thou eatest or drinkest, the grain derived from husbandry, or liquid, whatever is or is not to be eaten—all that food I render for thee free from poison. 20. We commit thee to both the Day and the Night: preserve him for me from the goblins who seek to devour him. 21. We allot to thee a hundred, ten thousand, years, two, three, four, ages (yugas).* May Indra and Agni, may all the gods regard thee favourably, without anger. 22. We commit thee to autumn, winter, spring summer. May the rains be pleasant to thee, in which the plants grow up. 23. Death rules over bipeds; death rules over quadrupeds. From that Death the ruler I rescue thee; do not fear. 24. Thou who art uninjured shalt not die; thou shalt not die; do not fear. They do not die there; they do not go to the nethermost darkness, (25) every thing lives there, cow, horse, man, beast, in the place where this prayer is used, the bulwark of life. May it preserve thee from course from thy equals and friends. Be undying, immortal, long-lived; let not thy breaths abandon thy body. 27. May the gods deliver thee from those hundred deaths, from those dangers which are surpassable, and from that Agni Vaisvanara (fire of the funeral pile?). 28. Thou art the body of Agni, the deliverer, the slayer of Rakshases, and of rivals; and thou, the medicament named *Pâtûdru* (Butea frondosa), art the chaser away of diseases."

* It would be difficult to say how great a duration is here denoted by this word; but it must be one of great length, if the long periods of years which are mentioned just before, may be taken as any indication.

Printed by Ashutosh Ghose & Co.,
Albert Press, 37, Machuábazar Street,—CALCUTTA.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018